

HINDUSTAN REVIEW
MAR-APRIL 1918 G. K. U.

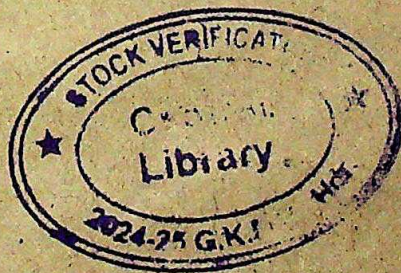


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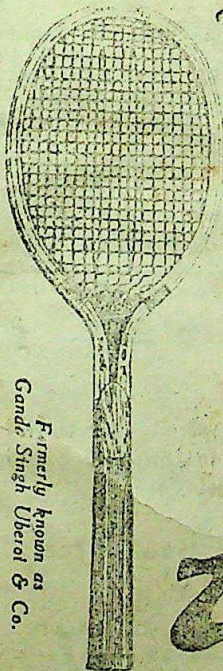
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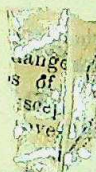
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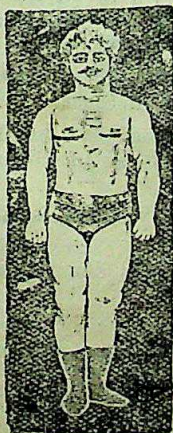
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THE Hindustan Review

EDITED BY

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law.*

"Too much must not be demanded of any editor."—The Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell, K. C., M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."

Volume XXXVII.
Whole No. 223.

MARCH, 1918.

Old Series Nos. I—X.
New Series No. 213.

Classic Literature and National Character.

By Mr. N. GUPTA.

RIGHTLY judged the true classic literature is the epic. Ancient India, Greece and Rome produced literature of this kind, though the intellectual evolution in the three countries differed materially. To the Aryan civilisation of the past and its spiritual and intellectual evolution there is no parallel, though Rome and Greece furnish an insufficient analogy. The highest human ambition is the spiritual aspiration, that awakening of the spirit which tries to realise the eternal in the phenomena of Nature, and later the closer and deeper questionings that lead to the intense introspection which is the parent of philosophy. In the whole range of human thought there is no second instance of anything corresponding to the Vedas and the Vedanta. Scriptural literature generally consists of the teachings of one or more than one master, but the Vedas and the Vedanta contain the sayings and the thoughts of the elects of a race. If there was ever a republic of religious thought it was only witnessed in India. Round about the Vedas grew up the deepest and the

most daring human speculation that the world has ever known. These occupy a place by themselves and cannot be found anywhere else. Greece had great philosophers, true, but there was nothing corresponding to the Vedas and the Vedanta. It is among the Aryans in India alone that every step of the ladder of the evolution of thought is to be found intact. On the top is the wondering invocation of the human spirit to the manifestations of Nature, to the sun, the spirit that rides the wind, the power that wields the thunderbolt and sends down the rain. The spirit-vision is then entirely subjective : from the lips of Rishis comes the chant of praise, the Rik or Mantram of the Veda. But those were not men who merely bowed down in worship to the sun, the moon and the stars. From the subjective they passed to the objective ; from outer phenomena they turned their eyes inwards, because in outer Nature there was no solution of the problem of life. The spirit wrestled with itself ; it passed through the different stages of Rajyoga and attained Gyan, a word which is not translatable by the English word 'Knowledge' or 'Wisdom.'

The spiritual faculty being the highest faculty, its development found the earliest and highest place. Next came intellect, and intellect at its highest is seen in the six Indian Schools of Philosophy. Literature occupies the third, or rather the fourth place, for although the Vedas and the Vedanta are grouped together, they represent two distinct stages of spiritual and intellectual evolution. The early Aryan classical literature is very far from what is understood by polite literature of the present day. The fact that epic poetry is the most ancient classical literature is borne out by the epics of India and Greece, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Illiad and the Odyssey. But while in the case of the Indian epics there is a full and satisfying background of spiritual development of the highest order and the deepest and the most abstruse philosophy the world has ever known, there is no counterpart of it in Greece and Rome. It may be freely admitted that Socrates and Plato can be well classed with the greatest philosophers of the world, but what was the religious foundation on which Greek philosophy was based ? I wish to speak of the enlightenment and civilisation of ancient Greece with the utmost respect and the highest admiration, and I refuse utterly to subscribe to the theory that the ancient Greeks were merely pagans whose ideals may be spurned by such exponents

of modern civilisation as, for instance, the Germans whose lofty Christian ideals are being fully exhibited during the present war. But, I repeat, what was the religious basis of the philosophy and literature of Greece and Rome, and where are the ancient Greeks and Romans to bear testimony to the ancient learning of those countries?

The powerful tragedies of ancient Greek literature are also undoubtedly classical, but they would be hardly ranked in the same class as the epics of ancient India and Greece. The pivot upon which these epics turn is the clang and clash of war, which has had a strange fascination for all men in all times, ancient and modern. Of the greatest of them all, the Mahabharata, the Kurukshetra, or the great Armageddon of Indian mythology, is the central event. The present European war is no doubt being waged on a much larger scale, but the war of Kurukshetra was positively a war of extinction, for very few parted where many met, and the survivors numbered less than a handful. In the other Indian epic, the Ramayana, the demon, King Ravana, and all his host were exterminated. The Odyssey is practically a tale of adventure, while the Illiad celebrates a war for the recovery of a beautiful woman, furnishing in this respect an exact parallel to the Ramayana. However, it is not my intention to make any comparison between the Indian and Greek epics as regards the literary value, though it is obvious that the leading characters in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are cast in a much larger and grander mould than in the Illiad and the Odyssey, while the imagery is far more daring and full of true epic grandeur. What I have in mind is the setting, or the background of such an epic as the Mahabharata of which there is no second example in the whole range of literature. What, for instance, can be more solemn, or awe-inspiring than the expounding of the Bhagavadgita, the loftiest concept of human wisdom and religious ideal, on the field of battle? One need not enter into the controversy whether the Gita is part of the original book or a later interpolation. The issue does not affect one whit the splendour of the idea by which the profoundest teaching about religion and selflessness forms a prelude to the din of battle in which a mighty host met another with a crash of thunder. So solemn a framing to so fierce a picture seems to exceed the limit of imagination and the keenest conception of dramatic contrast.

These great classics are now among the most valuable possessions of the whole civilized world, and have been translated in numerous languages. The languages in which the Indian and Greek epics were composed are dead in the sense that they are no longer commonly spoken or written by any modern nation, but they will never die because they can never be forgotten and will always attract students of the ancient civilisation and languages of the world. However, even this statement requires to be qualified, for the Sanskrit language is not dead in the sense that the Latin and Greek languages are dead. Modern Italy and Greece have no institutions where the classical Latin and Greek languages are treated as part of the ordinary school and college education, though these languages have not been entirely forgotten in those countries, but Sanskrit is by no means a dead language in India, for though that wonderful classic language is no longer in common vogue, it has been by no means neglected or forgotten. The Vedas are chanted at Benares and elsewhere as solemnly as they were recited on the banks of the Saraswati thousands of years ago, and there are Sanskrit scholars all over India who speak that ancient and perfect language almost as fluently as the ancient Rishis of Aryavarta, since the lore of Sanskrit learning has been handed down from generation to generation, pure and undefiled. It has been a trust which, amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune through which India has passed and the repeated waves of invasion and conquest that have swept over this ancient land, has never been forgotten, or neglected, and therefore there is a perennial continuity of tradition and knowledge and wisdom in India which cannot be found in any other country in the world. Early in 1894 in an address delivered at Lahore Mrs. Annie Besant declared India to be the Brahman among the nations—the high spiritual race that endures for ever—and an acuter or deeper truth has not been uttered in recent times.

The unbroken continuity of religious thought and teaching has held together the Hindu, or the ancient Aryan race in India amidst changes and trials which have wiped out many other ancient races and reduced their history to a mere memory. There are no followers of Socrates or Plato in modern Greece, no place of learning for teaching the ancient Greek philosophy. Modern Italy knows the Latin classics no better than the University of Oxford. Somewhere, long ago, the link snapped in Rome and Greece, and the continuity, not only of the race but of

language and thought was broken. The ancient Romans have passed away like the ancient Greeks and the modern Italians and Greeks do not belong to the same race; they are altogether different types. In India, although we claim to be the descendants of the ancient Rishis, we are certainly as unlike them as the modern Greeks are unlike the ancient Greeks, but in India the continuity of teaching and thought has never been broken. Not only are the Vedas learnt by Brahmans in different parts of India, but every branch of Sanskrit learning is eagerly and reverently cultivated. The Vedanta and the six systems of philosophy are carefully studied by advanced Sanskrit students; rhetoric, grammar and classic literature, epic, drama, fable and ethics are all extensively, though not so extensively as a couple of centuries ago, read, and no part of the ancient Sanskrit lore has been lost or forgotten. More than this, such great works as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have been translated in almost all vernacular languages and it does not require a knowledge of the Sanskrit language to know the central narratives of these, the two greatest epics of the world. In fact, it is not a case of knowing, but of never forgetting. Sanskrit ceased in the course of time to be the current language of the country, but the stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were and are known to men, women and children all over India. They have entered into the daily lives and thoughts of the whole people, and influenced their conduct.

That is the influence of classical literature on national character. In the Greek epics there are fine characters whom all readers remember with a feeling of admiration. We think of Nestor, the wise man, Achilles, the hero who had a vulnerable point in his heel, Hector, the young and handsome warrior, whose body was dragged in triumph behind the chariot wheels of the victor, the melancholy Penelope, who worked during the day with her needle and undid her work during the night to escape her suitors who would not be shaken off, the brave Ulysses of many wanderings whose homecoming and final triumph are full of dramatic incident. It is all very vivid, but it does not enter into the actual life of any nation. And, indeed, the ideals of character are wholly different in the Greek and Sanskrit epics. In Rama, the hero-king of the Ramayana, all the highest qualities of king and man seem to meet. He was the ideal of filial obedience, the ideal of a loving brother, the

ideal of a husband, tempered, however, by the fact that his relations with even his wife were controlled by the voice of the people, so great was his deference to popular opinion (which is flouted by all autocratic authority), while as a king he has never had an equal, so that up to this day the highest praise that can be bestowed on a king is that he is like Rama. That is the human phase of Rama's character. His divine character as an avatar does not fall within the purview of these reflections, but still the proximity of the human ideal to the divine may be well considered. There is no higher ideal of a wife than Sita, and the ideal of brotherly obedience and devotion is reached in Lakshmana. And these ideals are not merely treasured in a book. Throughout northern India the Ramayana is annually enacted in a kind of passion-play called the Ram Lila, the actors reproducing the various scenes from the immortal epic, while beautiful translations are read and songs relating to the incidents are sung everywhere. The Ramayana is not merely a book, it is part of the daily life of the people. A good wife or matron is compared to Sita while a loving and obedient younger brother is compared to Lakshmana.

So with the Mahabharata. In this immense epic are to be found accretions of later fables and incidents without in any way marring the force and grandeur of the central narrative. Both the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have tragic ends, for the ancient Aryan seers and singers had too true a conception of life to forget that the deepest undercurrent of life everywhere is tragic, and the so-called happy endings in comedies and fiction are against the stern evidence of reality and life. In epic grandeur the Mahabharata has no equal. Walt Whitman calls the Sanskrit epics "towers of fables immortal fashioned from mortal dreams." And these epics tower over all others in the magnificence of their setting and their matchless delineation of character. The moulds in which the characters are cast are truly Titanic, larger in conception and more daring in execution than can be found anywhere in the whole range of epic literature. If we compare Nestor with Bhishma, the wise Greek is utterly dwarfed by the ancient and wise Aryan warrior; the giant Bhima is beyond compare, while Arjuna is a far more skilful fighter than Ulysses. Is a character like that of Yudhishtira or Krishna to be found anywhere outside the Mahabharata? But these comparisons need not be pursued, because

they have no actual bearing upon the question of the influence of classic literature on national character. I claim that in India alone this is a fact beyond dispute that classic literature has gone to the moulding and building of character. The characters, of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata are not looked upon as shadowy myths, but as living and immortal ideals and forces which influence character and life to this day. It were as if the characters of these epics had entered into the web and woof of the fabric of Hindu social and national life. A strong man compares himself to Bhim Sen, a cunning rogue is called Uncle Shakuni; Yudhishthira is the embodiment of truthfulness. Outside the epic itself there are short stories and their characters have taken deep root in the traditions of the country. Savitri, whose devotion to her husband brought him back to life after death, is still the ideal of wifely dutifulness, chastity and devotion. There is a vow undertaken and performed called the Savitri Vrata. Letters are addressed to married women with the superscription "like unto Savitri." When in a particularly quarrelsome or evil-natured family a son is born who grows an excellent and decent lad he is called Prahlad in a family of Daityas. When a *Kathak* recites the woes and sufferings of Sita men and women weep as if the thing had not only happened yesterday, but as if Sita had been their own kith and kin. It is useless to argue that these were mythological personages who probably never existed in the flesh. After death what difference does it make whether a man or woman was real or mythical? The dead are as if they never had been, unless they have left a token, footprints on the sands of Time by which they can be recalled. These characters of the Sanskrit epics and dramas, call them mythical or unreal if you like, are far more real than even living men and women because they are a vivid and vivifying force, penetrating living thought through and through, and a never-failing source of inspiration and guide to conduct. These personalities, these portraits of character, are ideals which have come down through the centuries with their brightness and lustre undimmed, and are like the noonday sun except that they never pass the meridian and are fixed for all time.

Egypt, Babylon, ancient Rome and Greece are mere memories though the heritage of wisdom they have left is the possession of all humanity. India alone, as ancient as any of them,

has endured and has preserved its individuality in spite of unfavourable conditions which should have obliterated all its land marks. India has long lost its freedom, and submitted to the rule of the foreigner. Its religion has been assailed by either violence or persuasion, and attempts have been made to pull up all its institutions by the roots. And yet in many respects India has preserved its integrity and individuality. This is due to two causes: religion and this influence of the loftiest classic literature in the world on the national character. That is why in spite of the downfall of India and the unmistakable decadence in so many directions there has not been a complete collapse, or the loss of the power of recoupment. The people of India have held on steadfastly to their religion and their ideals, and that is why India is at the threshold of a new dawn radiant with promise. As in the past, so in the future, India will be the torch-bearer of the world.

Indian Education under the British.

By Mr. M. ZAHURUDDIN.

THE history of Indian education under the British is a dismal record. Nothing at all was done by the East India Company to conserve the knowledge that existed in the country, or to introduce English education, before the arrival of Warren Hastings, (Governor-General from 1774 to 1785). He opened the Calcutta *Madrasa* in 1782 to revive and to encourage Oriental studies. Jonathan Duncan, under his patronage, founded the Sanskrit College at Benares nine years later. The first Lord Minto (Governor-General 1807-13) strongly urged the Directors of the Company, in 1813, to grant money for the promotion of literature and sciences in India. A yearly sum of one lakh of rupees was assigned for this purpose under parliamentary pressure, but it was not till 1823 that any money was actually allotted.

A controversy was hotly raging at that time as to whether it was the duty of the Europeans in India to introduce Western science or to encourage Eastern learning. The officials of the East India Company were sharply divided on this point. The majority among the Christian missionaries supported English education because they believed it would accelerate the conversion of Indians. Several English schools were opened by them in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Some missionaries like Dr. Carey held, however, that in the interest of Indian evolution vernacular education should be fostered. The Serampore College was founded in 1818. A little later another missionary institution, the Scottish Churches College, was opened in Calcutta.

Among the Indians themselves, the desire to acquire Western knowledge had already manifested itself. It led to the foundation of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817 to impart education in "the European and Asiatic languages and sciences." Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a staunch advocate of English education, was one of the founders. The Government began to support it with grants 18 years after it was organised.

Montstuart Elphinstone (Governor of Bombay 1819-27) was among the first to further the cause of education in that Presidency. On the occasion of his leaving India, the Bombay leaders resolved to honour him by founding Elphinstone Professorships, and collected over Rs. 200,000 for that purpose. The fund and the professorships were ultimately merged into the Elphinstone College, the Presidency College of Bombay.

The first impulse for the educational movement in Madras came through Pachaiyappa Mudaliar who rose from humble beginnings to be a well-known business man. He bequeathed a part of his fortune to spread

the knowledge of English. The Presidency owes its largest school and a first-class college to his generosity. Sir Thomas Munro (Governor of Madras 1820-27) instituted an enquiry into the state of vernacular education in 1822, and four years later a Board of Public Instruction was formed. But it was not till 1841 that a high school was opened by the Government. A missionary school, however, had been started in 1837, which was eventually expanded into the Madras Christian College.

Thomas Babington Macaulay's arrival in India in 1834 as the legal member of the Governor-General's Council led to the settlement of the great controversy between persons who advocated the encouragement of Oriental Scholarship and those who favoured the introduction of Western knowledge. The Minute that he drafted in 1835 urged the claim of European languages and sciences at the expense of Eastern culture, of which he was profoundly ignorant. The policy recommended by him was approved by Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General at that time), and a Resolution embodying it was issued in the same year.

This policy was meant to bring near the day when English could be made the official language of India, which the Government had determined to do six years earlier. Lord Hardinge (Governor-General 1844-48) laid it down in 1844 as a definite policy that English education was to be encouraged by offering public service to those who acquired it.

Education had made little progress by the middle of the nineteenth century. There were in 1852 a little over 25,000 pupils in all the institutions maintained by the Government. Less than 10,000 of those scholars were receiving English education. The Company spent in that year the munificent sum of Rs. 700,000 for the education of its subjects in Bengal, Bombay, and Madras Presidencies, and the North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), who numbered more than 150,000,000 persons.

The Directors of the Company, urged by Sir Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, issued a Despatch in 1854 directing the Governor-General to extend the existing educational system among the upper classes, and to provide for the education of the masses through the vernaculars. Lord Dalhousie (Governor-General from 1848 to 1856) opened Departments of Public Instruction in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and North-Western Provinces. Several training and public schools were started. A system of encouraging private effort in education by means of grants was introduced. Three years later the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded on the model of the London University.*

* The Universities of the Punjab and of Allahabad were incorporated in 1882 and 1887 respectively.

It is useless to speculate on what the Company would have done had the Mutiny not broken out in 1857 leading to the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown in the following year. Certain it is, however, that during the next two or three decades little progress was made.

The Marquis of Ripon (Governor-General 1880-84) appointed, in 1882, a Commission of twenty members—ten of whom were Indians—under the presidency of Sir William Hunter, to enquire into the existing condition of education and to make recommendations for its improvement. The Commission declared that elementary education should have the first claim upon the State, and that higher education should be supported only after the needs of popular education had been adequately supplied. It recommended that almost all local funds for education and a large part of the provincial revenues be spent on primary education, and advocated the gradual withdrawal of Government control from secondary and higher education.

Had the Government risen to the occasion it would have made an adequate grant for the provision of education in a vast and populous country. But it did not. Many of the recommendations of the Commission were, therefore, not carried out, and education did not make much headway. The Census of 1900 showed that 94 out of every 100 persons were illiterate—a sad commentary on the net results achieved by an effort extending over a century.

Lord Curzon (Governor-General 1899-1905) called a Conference at Simla to deliberate on Indian education. It consisted entirely of Europeans and it met behind closed doors. No wonder that it roused suspicion and resentment among Indians.

The Indian Universities Commission was constituted the next year. Its organization and proceedings were criticised by Indians and its recommendations were condemned throughout the country as retrogressive.

In spite of Indian opposition, the University Bill embodying the main proposals of the Commission was introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council in 1904. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and other Indian members opposed the measure at every stage. Lord Curzon passed it, however, over their heads.

The Act has reduced the Universities to mere Government departments. The Government has cut down the Senates and appointed four-fifths of the new members, besides reserving the right to revise their list every five years. Fees have been raised, examinations have been made stiffer, and private effort is being discouraged.

Mr. Gokhale tried to persuade the Government to make primary education free and compulsory. He introduced a resolution to this effect in 1910 in the Supreme Legislative Council. It was, however, withdrawn, the Government promising to consider the matter,

Refusing to be thus put off, Mr. Gokhale introduced next year a Bill to "make better provision for the extension of elementary education." The Bill provided for the abolition of fees in the case of persons unable to pay them, and for gradually making primary education compulsory, the period of compulsory attendance extending from the age of six to ten. He urged :—

"Even if the advantages of an elementary education be put no higher than a capacity to read and write, its universal diffusion is a matter of prime importance, for literacy is better than illiteracy any day, and the banishment of a whole people's illiteracy is no mean achievement. But elementary education for the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level of intelligence for the whole community generally. He who reckons these advantages lightly may as well doubt the value of light or fresh air in the economy of human health. I think it is not unfair to say that one important test of the solicitude of a Government for the true well-being of its people is the extent to which and the manner in which, it seeks to discharge its duty in the matter of mass education. And judged by this test, the Government of this country must wake up to its responsibilities much more than it has hitherto done, before it can take its proper place among the civilised Governments of the world."

The Bill was rejected in spite of its moderate demands and unequivocal support from all sections of Indians, the official majority voting solidly against it. Mr. Gokhale died in 1915, but agitation for making elementary education free and compulsory continues. Indians are agreed that the future progress of the country depends upon that reform more than any other.

In addition to the institutions maintained by the Government and missionaries, there are many others conducted by Indians with or without State aid. The Fergusson College at Poona may be mentioned as one of such institutions. It was organised by a few enterprising and noble young men, who dedicated the best part of their lives to promote education, receiving a mere subsistence allowance. Mr. Gokhale served it for 18 years.

The *Vanita Vishram* at Surat is conducted by two Hindu widows, Bhen Shivagauri Kalyanbhai Gajjar and Bhen Bajigauri Dolatrai Munshi, who sold their ornaments to obtain sufficient money for the undertaking.

Prof. D. K. Karvé started at Poona twenty years ago the Hindu Widows' Home in order to make Hindu widows useful members of the community. This institution has now developed into a University for women—a purely Indian undertaking, founded and controlled by Indians.

Several schools are maintained in various parts of Southern India by the Depressed Classes Mission—an indigenous non-Christian enterprise to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes.

The Central Hindu College at Benares founded by Mrs. Besant, a Hindu of Hindus though born a Christian, was recently developed into the Hindu University, for which Indians subscribed close upon a crore of rupees. Hinduism will be taught in the University in addition to modern arts and sciences.

The Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh is a well-equipped institution, which imparts religious instruction also. It is residential and fosters patriotism, high ideals, and a corporate life. It was founded by the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in 1875, and was affiliated to the Allahabad University in 1888. Efforts are being made now to develop it into a Muslim University. There is also a Muslim girls' school at Aligarh. The Muslim community maintains Islamia Colleges at Lahore and Peshawar, which are making rapid progress.

The Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore has been built up largely through the exertions of Lala Hansraj, a brilliant member of the Arya Samaj, who devoted his whole life to it without pecuniary return. Instruction is imparted there in Hinduism as reformed by Maharishi Dayananda Saraswati. Another section of the Samaj conducts the Gurukul Academy at Hardwar, where education is given according to Vedic system. The Samaj also maintains a girls' school at Jallunder.

The Khalsa College at Amritsar gives instruction in Sikhism besides the usual arts and sciences. The community conducts a girls' school at Ferozepore under Bhai Takht Singh.

A zealous member of the Bramho Samaj founded the Dayal Singh College at Lahore.

This list of Indian educational efforts is meant to be suggestive and not exhaustive.

According to the census of 1911 only 5.9 per cent of the Indian population was literate.

The expenditure incurred on education in 1910-11 was only 4.9% of the total revenue. In that year there was a surplus of over Rs. 59,000,000, which could have been expended on education, had the Government desired to do so. The progress of education depends largely upon the State making adequate provision for expenditure on education, without which other reforms are necessarily doomed to failure.

Mr. Gandhi and his Satyagrahashrama :—An appreciation and a criticism.

By Mr. THAKORELAL M. DESAI.

THE *Indian Review* has certainly done a valuable service to the public, by publishing, an authorized version of the principles on which Mr. Gandhi's well-known Ashrama is based. In these days, when the conditions of human life, especially life in a country like India, where the struggle is manifest both inside and out, are very highly complicated and of very far-reaching results, when a new thought, a new institution, a new organ or a new measure affects the interests of millions imperceptably even in the slightest degree, it must be with a profound sense of responsibility that those high-spirited souls, the recognised leaders, should undertake to launch and receive any such new institution as Mr. Gandhi's Ashrama. An unmixed good may be an impossibility in these days, but this fact does not defeat the end of Criticism and Review, which are the only means of arriving at anything that has more good in it than evil. An early effort should therefore be made to deal with these things, as there is a strong tendency about them to spread their roots wide and deep into the ground. If they turn out evil in the end, the only alternative that then remains is that of complaining like some of our people about the Caste System, "Oh it is bad enough, but it has verily become a part of our life!"

No such effort seems to have been made by any of our public men, by letting the people know what they think of the new Ashrama, excepting some controversies on one or two of the principles that are involved. This is only a modest effort to express what some of the young people think of it. I propose to deal with it, by taking each of its points one by one, in the order given in the original article.

The one thing strikingly novel about Mr. Gandhi's new movement is that its entire basis is religion. Without any hesitation, all right thinking men will say that Mr. Gandhi has struck the right chord, as far as the principle goes. For India any life—industrial, political or commercial—must ultimately submerge and find harmony in its religious life or it will be but short lived, whatever it be for other countries. During all these years of political agitation and advance, no one has realised this fact better than Mr. Gandhi has done and, what is more, if some of our leaders did realise it, they had not the patience to set about working it out practically. However much the vision of an emancipated, freed and materially prosperous India, may strike the imagination of the Indian public, its leaders will certainly be making a mistake, if they bring themselves to believe that they will have solved the problem of Indian life by accomplishing all this. All this has got to be woven with the religious sentiments that have been the springs of Indian life. "Sentiment counts for much in India," truly observed H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner before the English People. But the truth of it stops only half-way; it is the religious sentiment that counts for much in India. Our national ideals and our national character have to be in unison with that one sentiment and Mr. Gandhi has placed all Indians under a great obligation by indicating where the work is to be begun. Neither Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society nor the Congress

neither the Home Rule League nor the Moslem League has any religious foundation, though the work that they have been doing is no doubt very useful.

The Vow of Truth

is the first principle of the Ashrama. Who would ever deny that sticking to truth should be a guiding principle of life and yet there is a possibility of looking at truth in a wrong way. National life or Individual life must have truth for its foundation and Mr. Gandhi is on sure ground so far as he sticks to it. But when he begins to find fault with everyday civilities, we can return the charge and say that he is over-doing it. One cannot see why Mr. Gandhi does not understand, as everybody else does, the "oh, no, there is nothing private here" to mean that there was something private there but now you are here we are willing and polite enough to chat with you and therefore that there is nothing private here, but that you will leave us soon. Mr. Gandhi's two friends, I believe, understood it just this way and we all understand it just that way. Language is but a matter of convention and if one way of saying things is accepted to be more refined and more civilised than another, so far as they mean the same, there is no fault to be found with either, and the more polite the better. Mr. Gandhi is sadly mistaken when he takes this incident and such others as indicating which way the wind blows. They certainly in a way indicate which way it blows but it is not the way Mr. Gandhi takes it as indicating. If it indicates anything it indicates that we have learnt to be more polite, more civil and more mindful of the feelings of others, and not that our whole social life, so far as it differs from the primitive one, in this respect, is based on a huge lie. Is not the English way of saying, 'with pleasure', instead of the mere 'yes', to the request, 'will you please do this for me,' very nice? And all the while 'with pleasure' only means no more or no less than the curt monosyllable 'yes.' There are many ugly things in life and if the effort of making those ugly things a little more artistic and presentable is a lie, it is better that we have the lie. Let the Truth take care of itself. Next is

The Doctrine of Ahimsa.

Such a controversy has raged over this doctrine, between Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpatrai, in the *Modern Review* that I shall spare the readers the repetition of all the arguments then put forward. I will only make a few brief observations. Mr. Gandhi says: "To me it (the doctrine) has a world of meaning and takes me into realms much higher, infinitely greater than the realms to which I would go if I merely understood by *Ahimsa* non-killing." Unfortunately I with many others do not see that world of meaning and those much higher and infinitely greater realms beyond the simple thing that it means non-killing so far as practicable. When Mr. Gandhi says, 'for one who follows the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, there is no room for an enemy,' he simply asks his disciples to shut their eyes to the bare naked fact. Mr. Gandhi may decline to resent and may mean by resenting "wishing that some harm to be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by an action of ours, but by an action of somebody else or by Divine agency," but the fact remains that we are called upon in life in all honesty to resent strongly certain actions of certain persons and that if we feel right about what we think, we must with all our might put the evil doer out of the way. Evil is real and it has got to be put out of the way, if any progress is to be made. All Philosophies and Religions that deny the existence of evil and consequently of evil-doers, do not deal with Reality. "You express your love in such a manner that it impresses itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy, he must return your love." But human will is free and in the first place he might not return your love and in the second

there might be no such manner to express it as to impress itself indelibly upon your so-called enemy. For Mr. Gandhi "there is no room for any violence even for the sake of.....guarding the honour of precious ones that may be under your charge" because "after all it would be a poor defence of honour." But as has been seen, poor or not, it is the only defence of honour and you must either let go honour or let go Mr. Gandhi's *Ahimsa*. Mr. Gandhi goes on to say, "This doctrine.....tells us that we may guard the honour of those who are under our charge by delivering ourselves into the arms of the man who would commit the sacrilege," and I have such a temptation to add "and make it the easier for him to commit it"! He asks, "if you do not retaliate but stand your ground between your charge and your opponent, simply receiving the blows without retaliating, what happens," and the reply is so simple. It is, "well, you fall and make way for him to go on with his work unmolested, in his heart of hearts despising you for a cowardly wretch the while." For all Mr. Gandhi may take upon himself to promise, there is little chance of "the whole of his violence being expended on you and your charge being left unscathed." Next is

The Vow of Celibacy.

Mr. Gandhi does not deal with this at any length and I too, following the excellent example, do not want to deal with it at any length. "Those who want to perform national service or those who want to have a glimpse of real religious life must lead a celibate life, no matter if married," is Mr. Gandhi's axiom in this respect. I presume Mr. Gandhi will admit that it is the duty and the right of everyone to perform national service and to have a glimpse of real religious life. Of course, all ought to be then, according to Mr. Gandhi, strictly celibate. And what is the conclusion of these premises? That the nation should go right about destroying itself with an earnestness. And then who will be celibate to perform national service? In fact it is a case of *reductio ad absurdum*, and Mr. Gandhi's principle is self-destructive. "In our conception of marriage our lusts should not enter." But where to begin calling it lust and distinguish it from legitimate and natural indulgence, is a question and Mr. Gandhi's solution is by no means satisfactory.

The Vow of the Control of the Palate.

Few would disagree with Mr. Gandhi when he insists upon the strictest simplicity in connection with our meals. Besides the religious and the biological point of view that Mr. Gandhi brings to bear upon this problem, India has to learn even an economic lesson in this direction. In spite of the daily cry of our starving millions, we seldom make any conscientious and honest effort in repressing the gross waste that is caused at every meal, in most of the households. I am not an ascetic and entirely disagree with Mr. Gandhi in advocating complete asceticism, but all the same I cannot but think that luxury in food, beyond its being substantial, is but a poor sort of luxury and, as Mr. Gandhi believes, the number of dishes that we but half-consume at a time, is simply scandalous and disgraceful, in the midst of these circumstances. It is the duty of every right thinking man in India, whether he may be inclined to join the Satyagrahahrama or not, to put a stop to this waste.

The Vow of Non-Thieving.

Mr. Gandhi suggests we are all thieves in a way. I entirely disagree with Mr. Gandhi there. Calling oneself bad names in a fit of transitory repentance is not calculated to bring about a reversion from the path of evil. Even if the

principle on which he bases his theory that "If I take any thing that I do not need for my own immediate use and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else," be a right one, it still remains an open question, as to what is to be considered as needful for my own immediate use. Who is to say, "nay, thou hast enough now"? Certainly not Mr. Gandhi. And who ever said, and who will ever say that he has had enough for his immediate needs? In fact, the needs are but relative and no one can set himself the task of deciding upon an universal standard, except in such exceptional War-times. In the face of this difficulty it only remains to leave everyone to his own labour and its fruits and to restrict him so far as he acts unjustly. No one has a right to deprive me of my honestly earned luxuries. Property is the one sure impetus to honest labour and once that incentive is gone, you may as well talk of industrial development for all it is worth and never advance a step. Certainly nature produces enough for our wants from day to day and if everybody took enough for himself and nothing more there would be no pauperism in this world, "there would be no dying of starvation in this world." But Mr. Gandhi forgets that nature produces enough for us all and to spare. (I make this statement, knowing that most of the economists do not hold with it but which is nonetheless true.)

It is this spare part that can very well form part of our luxuries and it is but right and just that one who works the best and the hardest, should have the most of it. Mr. Gandhi cannot escape by saying that he is no socialist and that he does not want to dispossess those who have property. With all due deference, I should like to point out that Mr. Gandhi is entirely mistaken in his solution of the problem of the three millions of people having to be satisfied with one spare meal a day. The solution is not in depriving yourself of your things or denying yourself your bread and adding yourself to that great number. This denial will not, in the first place, suffice to feed and clothe those needy men, as long as they are what they are and in the second, it is not a very hopeful and buoyant view of life. The real remedy, if Mr. Gandhi will only see it, lies in changing the conditions of labour, industry and agriculture; in enabling them to produce more, so that they too with proper diligence, may get as much as you have. The proper way to emancipate the people is in making labour more efficient, the industry and agriculture more scientific. The real economic advance—I believe it is as much from an economic point of view as any other that Mr. Gandhi is talking about the starving millions—is not so much in less consumption as in more production. Then there is

The Vow of Swadeshi.

The vow of *Swadeshi* is a necessary vow, but by no means so in the sense in which Mr. Gandhi understands it. He gives a peculiar turn to the word, unjustifiable in the extreme, when he asks us to prefer goods sold or produced in our own part of the country to those of other parts. The view is extremely narrow and may in the long run give rise to commercial and industrial animosity. It is curious when all India is trying to be one, when all other barriers that separate an Indian from an Indian are being removed and when Mr. Gandhi himself advocates broad and liberal views in other spheres of life, how he commits this obvious error of dividing them. If the political conditions of the world were better ordered, I should certainly go so far as to condemn this principle of *Swadeshi* even in its most liberal sense, but it is justified on political and economic grounds at present. However, free competition is the healthier principle to adopt from the very outset than that of protection. It is

not, the duty of the consumer or customer to begin giving lessons to the local shop-keepers or artisans ; he can only indirectly serve them by making them alive to the real competitive spirit and thus causing them to reform themselves. Intense self-consciousness of one's native town or one's division is not the right way to set about building a national life and national character. These differences have got to be sacrificed and submerged and not made prominent. Then there is

The Vow of Fearlessness.

Mr. Gandhi touches here a sore point and a sure failing in our public life. This want of bold frankness and sticking to one's convictions with tenacity has become so common that with many it passes without any notice. We usually catch ourselves uttering, "well, what can we do, our mouths are closed." Not only by preaching but by his actual conduct everywhere Mr. Gandhi has brought home to our leaders the necessity of fearlessness and avoidance of much circum-spection.

The Vow regarding the Untouchables.

Here is another of Mr. Gandhi's great public services. Out of the whole paragraph I mark out one sentence, which every son of India must understand the true import of. "It (the spirit of untouchableness) is to my mind, a curse that has come to us and as long as that curse remains with us, so long I think, we are to consider that every affliction that we labour under in this sacred land is a fit and proper punishment for this great and indelible crime that we are committing." It is a blot on and a disgrace to Hinduism, and the student world to whom Mr. Gandhi appeals cannot do better than bear in mind the grave prophecy uttered by this our great patriot.

Education through the Vernacular.

I will not discuss this hotly contested question at all beyond observing that it is better to let things as they are at present and to look and think not twice but ten times before renouncing the system that has done us so much good and before yielding to that weak sentiment of mother tongue. The time has not yet come for this drastic change. It is a reform that has to be undertaken after the complete achievement of self-government and not before it. Then there is

Hand-Weaving.

Mr. Gandhi's is a queer way of realising the dignity of labour. One might not deny the truth of Mr. Gandhi's considering a barber's profession just as good as the profession of medicine, in certain respects. But that never means that we should all of us go right about making ourselves bad barbers, bad weavers, bad potters and bad carpenters. Everyone has his work cut out according to his position and gifts and it is better both for him and the world, that he should direct all his efforts along those lines. It will be a sorry time as once it was a sorry time, when everyone would undertake to weave and sew his own clothes, make his own shoes, grow and grind his own corn, cook his own meal, build his own hut (I do not say a house) and what not. In the first place he would never have the time for all that, and in the second, this way of living is diametrically opposed to the fundamental principle of economics, *viz.*, the division of labour. Besides, what reply has Mr. Gandhi to give to the stubborn psychological fact of special and individual aptitudes and gifts? This fallacy is so patent and the fact that the scheme, if carried to its logical extremes, is sure to be a rank failure, is so evident that it does not require much ingenuity to find it out. It is one thing to

realise the dignity of labour and to consider one profession as good as any other in the social scheme and it is quite another to go dabbling about in all professions, so as to show that one understands the dignity of labour. Mr. Gandhi with all his clear common sense is working under an equivocation here. Last is the

Politics.

Here at last I find myself agreeing whole heartedly with Mr. Gandhi. Whatever he may think of the ways and means of political advance, the truth of the statement is undeniable that 'politics divorced of religion, have absolutely no meaning.' Mr. Gandhi's advice is sound when he asks the student world not to meddle in political movements but to study them. They will succeed in public life when they come into it at the right moment and not a bit prematurely and when they bring with them sound knowledge of political institutions from their college days. One might see many young men, throwing themselves heart and soul into political affairs, in the early gust of enthusiasm and making themselves hopeless failures in the end. Their intellectual advance is seriously handicapped and their true position is compromised, as a false and illusory sense of greatness envelops them for the time being and they realise too late that the line is blocked for them and that they must start afresh. If Mr. Gandhi were followed in this respect, to the letter, many wrecks of lives that we are sure to witness, if we have our eyes open, will be naturally stopped and the country be the richer in great politicians and splendid patriots in the end. In Mr. Gandhi's own words, "In the Ashrama every child is taught to understand the political institutions of our country and to know how the country is vibrating with new emotions, with new aspirations, with a new life. But we want also the steady light, the infallible light, of religious faith, not a faith which merely makes appeals to the intelligence, but a faith which is indelibly inscribed on the heart. First we want to realise that religious consciousness and immediately we have done that, I think the whole department of life is open to us ———," is a sound political creed in a nutshell that every Indian may take for his unfailing guide.

False Note in Art.

By Mr. M. W. VENKĀTASWAMI, M. R. A. G., M. A. L. S.

KINGS, queens, *rishis*, warriors, philosophers and writers of note lived in India in olden times. Their likenesses do not exist, and in their absence we imagine such and such must have been their features, such and such must have been their appearance and are delighted ; though our imaginings in the generality of cases might not approach the original. Some years ago a London Monthly in one of its numbers presented some portraits of certain personages. Bret Harte the novelist, I remember, was one of them—as imagined by the writer of the article ; the names of both the writer and of the article fail me at present ; and as they appeared to him in flesh and blood ; and what a world of difference there existed between the pictures of men as imagined and the originals as appeared to the writer. But a painter, despite the fact that our imaginations are faulty, essays to draw a picture, say of Rama—but why of Rama as he is in some quarters regarded as a fictitious personage and the book recording his adventures and exploits as a three-volume novel ; but say of Valmiki the immortal bard and writer thereof and the object is a laudable one and will, moreover, make up the deficiency of art as it existed in olden times, be it in one case even by depicting the features of one of the world's master-minds whom the world would have very much liked to see in flesh and blood though this is a sheer impossibility owing to immutable laws of nature. But why break through the veil and introduce a false sentiment in art, as the picture, the imagined picture of Valmiki drawn—we will suppose it so—will be handed down to posterity and posterity will consider it as the real likeness of Valmiki—Valmiki as he was, apparently in flesh and blood and seen, as it would appear, by one of his contemporaries, though we, who have lived in the age in which the artist essayed the attempt, know this to be the reverse of the case. This is vitiating art ; but truth should always be laid in art as it is laid in religion ; falsehood should never be made a handmaid of art where art is intended to delineate truth in one of its phases such as the representation of men whom the world likes to adore.

Despite the fresco-paintings in the cave-temples of Ajanta and other places, the finest work of the Buddhist monks of bygone ages, that have come down to us, India is in its infancy so far as art is concerned, the artists, moreover, being few. But why for that introduce a false note and impair the value of work, I mean the first class artistic work existing though small in extent or few in numbers. Let the artists, however, draw natures scenes, still life, animals, birds, pictures of contemporaries of note but let them not draw pictures from imagination of famous men whom they had not seen and thus deviate from truth or vitiate the art they represent. In dramatic representations, as you know, kings and queens appear and artists turn the personages to canvas but why O artist draw pictures of these evanescent sham kings and queens and pass them off for real kings and queens of bygone times whom you have not seen, and why, O artist, not enlarge pictures of that very kings and queens—the real and not spurious ones—if happily you come across their pictures already existing in a rude or inartistic form on stone, on paper, on cloth : enlarge showing your skill or high artistic sense. But please note that you are not to consider this as limitation on your art for you are at perfect liberty to draw pictures of kings and queens that fiction takes note of and these from imagination or models if you please, but the heart should revolt at throwing on the canvas historical characters or say of such types as Rama and Seeta should the artist think of so doing by making a man of licentious habits to sit for the former or engage a virtue-wanting dancing girl to sit for the latter.

It is much to be regretted that Raja Ravi Varma the greatest of Indian artists of ancient and modern times whose works are admired all the world over alike for composition and colour introduced a false note by drawing pictures of bygone historical characters from models who were no other than Indian ladies. The false note is glaring the men from an instance I may quote of the Raja's two pictures of the Vaidaiha Princess Damayanti : The features represented in one—Lady Damayanti are quite different from the features of the self-same lady represented in Hans Damayanti and there are proofs that two ladies sat for the same character. But that first and foremost artist of our Bharatvarsha is not blameworthy with reference to such studies of his as Illusion (Maya) and Enchantress (Mohini) as they do not represent ladies famed in history. They being mere allego-

rical studies any woman possessing good looks might have sat as models for them, in fact a dancing girl sat for the picture of "Mohini." But because the great Ravi Varma erred in the direction there should not be the logical deductions therefrom on the part of the living and working artists that they should also fall into a similar error. Let Abanindranath, Ghose, Ganguli, Nandalal, Tagore, Dhurandar, Sahabkar, Appaji, the rising artists and the artists that have already acquired fame desist from introducing a false note in art, as it is inconsistent with things traditional, things historical in this land of Aryavarta. If the genius is great in some it should not be stifled: let them draw the pictures of contemporary men of note or of the reigning kings, queens, princes and princesses of India and of their predecessors or progenitors, the latter of course with the aid of portraits of existent in a rough rude or in an inartistic form.

Indian as I am, and writing these lines in India, I can be said to have before my mind's eye the Indian artist but I appeal to the European artist as well. Accustomed as he is to models—and this is a thing not possible in India—and my appeal to him is stronger in consequence that he should turn over a new leaf or make a resolution from henceforward not to introduce a false note in art where historical, biographical and typographical studies are concerned, of course in fictional subjects he is as free as the bird of the air without any restriction or limitation whatever. I may quote an instance of bad taste or false note in European art so that he may ponder over. A famous artist drew a picture of Christ from a model and later on he unknowingly pitched upon the same model (who was in the meantime frequenting taverns falling off from pristine virtues) to sit for the picture of Judas Iscariot. Now as the Bethlehem Babe would have commanded respect through the gospels, the people forming a picture in their minds of his personal appearance, etc., which might have been true to the original or otherwise and this might not have mattered much to the world but why the picture should have been drawn (thus introducing a false note of course) of one whose picture representing him as he was in flesh and blood, be it in a rude or inartistic form, does not exist; and even if tradition was called in it is doubtful whether it would have helped as tradition at best is faulty with reference to features that one wears. Further it is not understood that when places of historic association exist—apart from

the fact that they have been rendered immortal besides by the magic pen of a Romance writer—fanciful pictures of such scenes should be given. Did not the publishers Messrs. Ward and Lock (in reputation as it were of the false note in art though unknowingly) say that the romances of Sir Walter Scott published by them contain no fanciful sketches but pictures taken from historic scenes. England had produced many fine artists and even in the way of book-illustrating she had done miracles as if she had belief in the tenet that books without a profusion of illustrations are pleasaunces with fine flower trees cut down pruned, are like aviaries with buds of fine plumage turned out, like caverns on which no draughtsman put his hands to show his skill to adorn the walls thereof with his designs.

Let the art—critics Havell and Ananda Coomaraswamy and others ponder over the foregoing and should my view commend itself to them let them use their influence to put a stop to the vitiating growing taste of False Note in art, not only in big studies but in book-illustration, also it should be avoided when it should be avoided.

Printing as a Trade.

By Mr. C. H. RAO, B. A., B. L.

I have been, I may say at once, connected with printing from my infancy. My first connection with it commenced many years ago when I first tried my hand at composing in a printing office at Madras. From that day to this my interest in the trade has continued unabated. The amateur interest that I first took in it developed in me a true love for it. That is one reason why I am to-day trying to speak as an old printer to printers and others interested in printing. When I left college, now nearly 20 years ago, I was barely out of my teens. Despite many temptations, I have continued faithful to my first love. I have been, in one capacity or another, closely connected with printing during the whole of this period. Until recently I was in active charge of one of the biggest and most up-to-date printing offices in Madras City. My connection with the printing trade has been thus a close one, and if in what I say in this article any one should find anything to differ from, he will, I daresay, set it down to my desire to see things improved rather than otherwise.

I would first of all suggest the formation of a Printers' Association in every important centre of India. There is, I think, one of this kind in one place—Bangalore—but it has been moribund for sometime now. An Association like that is likely to create a healthy *esprit de corps* on the part of those practising the trade in each centre and make for development on sound lines. It is likely, besides, to help to a rational understanding of the ethics of competition amongst craftsmen in each locality, and thus tend to abrogate the evils of cutting prices down to the detriment of the trade. It is really desirable to have a better basis of relationship than we at present have as between employer and employed in this trade. This relationship, I need hardly say, is of the very first importance if a printer is to achieve any success, not to say distinction, in his trade. I know occasions when the work of big presses has been brought to a standstill owing to a slight mistake in the handling of labour. Where large numbers of men work, there is a tendency for the wilder spirits to get the upper hand. But even these are easily kept in control by a good employer; in his hands they are likely to change into instruments of progress rather than of mischief. In big city presses in Madras, where printing is something akin to a regular industry, this relationship is so good, that I have known men staying all their lives in some of them and drawing pensions from them in their old age. That is a relationship which is to be envied. But it is a question if modern conditions do not tempt workers

to leave one press for another more often than they may prove useful to them or to the presses they leave. This is a great evil, and it is good that this aspect of the matter is receiving increasing attention. Labour is best maintained where it is recruited on sound principles, and treated on considerations not merely of utility to the employers but of the employed as well. Humane considerations ought to a certain extent govern their relationship. Kindness is never thrown away on workmen. It is repaid with compound interest by them. I know that discipline should not be relaxed; that high pressure work is necessary to keep abreast of the work on hand; and that laxity in business matters is likely to lead to demoralization among workers. There is truth—considerable truth, I had almost said—in all these observations. But within certain limits labour deserves, so far as printing is concerned, considerate treatment. I shall make myself plain by a slight reference to some statistics. Printing is one of those occupations which, it has been declared authoritatively, predisposes people to phthisis. In a list of the 24 of the commonest trades practised in England and Wales, I find printers stand 12th with a percentage of 22. That may be much better than the percentage prevailing among needle-makers, for instance, which is as high as 70 per cent, or among file-makers, which is 62 per cent, but it is a serious matter for consideration. Printers seem to be prone to consumption much more than those who follow other trades. According to a well known Insurance Company, which has taken great interest in Industrial Insurance, the percentage of deaths during 1897 and 1902 in England among printers from consumption was 37.6. That is for every 100 printers as many as 37 were suffering from this scourge. We have no statistics available for India as regards these matters, but it is hardly necessary to say that the conditions of the trade generally are such that they make people prone to the attacks of these frightful diseases. Where this is so, it seems necessary to have suitably lighted, well ventilated, and sanitarily clean buildings, and appurtenances, for the use of workmen. It is quite common to find places with hardly a window in them—I am not exaggerating a whit when I say this—being utilised for printing offices; and it is the smaller offices that sin most in this matter. Then, again, the depressing effects of exacting labour and low wages have, it has been said, led to suicides among printers in certain countries. Among males, of 25 and 65 years of age per million, there were in England in 1883, it would appear, as many as 264 suicides. Here again, we have no statistics for India, but the moral is easily drawn. Then, again, accidents, sometimes accidents that prove fatal, are common enough among printers. Accidental deaths among printers, considering only males between 25 and 65 years of age, average in England 24 per 100. This is not much compared with the average among, say, miners, fishermen, or cabdrivers, but it is a point germane to the present discussion. Where the risks are great to health and safe working, the wages should be proportionately

high. That seems almost a commonplace, but a great many employers of labour are apt to forget this on inconvenient occasions. It is true that wages are governed to a certain extent by the law of supply and demand, and that extraneous considerations have little play in the matter. But if the tendency to cut rates all round is avoided, the margin of profits would be increased, and there would be probably something more to spend upon the employees and their surroundings. That is one aspect of the matter. In England and Wales, the tendency to improvement in wages and in the rational treatment of the employed has shown itself in an unmistakable manner during the past fifty years. Possibly the organisation of workers into flourishing Trade Unions has had much to do with this. I cannot make my readers realise the extent of this improvement better than by referring to the marked decline that has occurred in the death-rate among printers during the past five decades. In 1860-1871 between the ages of 25 and 45, it was 13.0 per 1,000 living. This went down in 1880-82 to 11.1 per 1,000 living. In 1860-71 between the ages of 45 and 65, it was 29.4 per 1,000 living. This decreased in 1880-82, to 26.6 per 1,000 living. During the subsequent decades this improvement has been kept up. In 1900-02, it had fallen, between the ages of 25 and 45, to 7.47 per 1,000 living and between the ages of 45 and 65, to 21.23. During the same period wages have risen and we thus know wherefrom this improvement came in. This has been even more so in the United States of America. According to Mr. Carroll Wright, Director of the Statistical Department in the United States, wages generally rose in America 67 per cent between 1860 and 1891, the increase in printing alone being something like 49 per cent. Relatively higher wages are paid in the United States of America than even in England. The figures for 1880 for some of the leading countries may be thus set down :—

	SHILLINGS PER WEEK.						
	Great Britain.	France.	Belgium.	Germany.	Italy.	New York.	Chicago.
Printers' Wages	32	20	19	20	16	54	62

As against 32 shillings paid to a printer in Great Britain, we have 54 paid in New York and 62 in Chicago. Among European nations, Great Britain pays the highest wages to printers and Italy the lowest which is only 16 shillings per week. But we must remember that the output of printing work in America has increased by leaps and bounds during the past half a century. In 1850, it rose to 42 millions of dollars; in 1870 to 46 millions, and in 1880 this went up to 91 millions. That shows that the printers have shared in the general prosperity that has attended their

employers. This increase in the volume of business is due to many causes which we need not enter upon here, but the profits on the business have been due to methods of work employed, to the perfection of mechanical appliances, to the effectual prevention of waste of every kind and last but not least of all to the spirit that generally animates printers in that country which makes them print for profits and not merely for cutting down rates.

This brings me to the principles of business usually followed in this country in the printing trade. A trade usually is high or low in public esteem according to the character of the men employed in it. Printing is still new to India, and it may be said that it has not yet attracted to itself the best talents. With honourable exceptions, the trade is yet in the hands of mere rule of thumb workers. This is one reason why progress in the printing trade is so slow. Southern India has taken kindly to printing, and with a better class of men at the top, it can easily do much more work, and earn better profits too. More than this, there would be a striving for all round improvement. This would lead to the realisation of the true difficulties involved in undertaking high grade printing and eventually help all those engaged in the trade to know that it is best to place quality before cheapness, accuracy before hurried work, and honesty before everything else. In a country where manual labour is discredited, the dignity of labour is not easily realised. We are fast changing our view point in many matters and I have no doubt that we shall change in this matter also before very long. With educated men already coming into this field, I am quite free to say that this is by no means an idle dream.

Southern India, I have just said, is already well known for its printing. Printing is an industry here already. In Mysore State, we have, I think, something like 10 Printing Factories employing in all about 750 men. Mysore and Madras do printing for many parts of India. The South Indian likes printing work and he should, if possible, by the quality of his work, by his business habits and by his anxiety to meet the undoubted public demand there is for more printing, try to secure for himself much more work. Much printing work is going out of India. Many European publishing firms have opened branches in India; the prospects for paper-making in this country are daily increasing; and the hour for the good printer is surely but slowly arriving. It is now that we should take time by the forelock and set our house in order. We must try to do better work, attract better custom, and better labour too. All this is possible and more than possible to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear. The spread of education is likely to increase the demand for printed matter both in English and the vernaculars; and to meet this demand in the near future much careful thought and husbanding of resources is necessary. If we do not awake

betimes from our slumbers, we shall be left behind in the race and may have to repent leisurely for our incurable habit of not looking early enough into the future. We will wait before very long in this country printing firms that will cope with the growing demand that there is sure to be for job, newspaper and book-printing. Southern India including Mysore, which has already made a name for itself for high-class printing, stands a good chance. It behoves printers in these areas to note this and do what they can to meet the coming demand.

With better men in command, we soon expect to find a rapid change in our printing organisation. Labour has to be trained here on certain definite lines before it could be efficiently utilised. The apprentice system is still largely unknown in this country in the trades. Our system of education as it exists to-day is still very one-sided and it is difficult, therefore, to introduce the teaching of printing for those whose minds run to mechanism rather than to books in the ordinary schools. While printing cannot be taught in these, I would suggest its introduction into Industrial Schools. This has been tried in America with success. According to one authority the printing press affords one of the most valuable and desirable means of education. It appeals to the boy who is mechanically inclined and at the same time gives the best possible drill and practice in the mechanics of English composition, capitalisation, punctuation, spelling, spacing, indentation, paragraphing, etc. Mr. C. H. Yates, until recently Superintendent, Government Press, Bangalore, whose love for printing is as real as his knowledge of it is deep, has, as most printers on this side of India are aware, started a small school of printing in connection with the Government Press and, from what I have learned from him, is apparently doing very good work. This is a step in the right direction and its success ought to induce the authorities to provide better facilities for training young men for the printing trade. This would help towards getting a better sort of men for the trade, at present a desideratum. Better men would command better pay and better paid men would turn out better work too. This would help employers to place principle before price in their dealings with customers and lead to a general betterment of conditions in the trade.

But any change for the better is hardly to be had without some regard to the exact qualifications necessary in a printer. The law of this country has some sort of control over the press. But it is control of a kind that is more political than industrial. At present anybody who can get together a few cases, a broken hand-machine and a few ignorant men with little knowledge of English and less still of the vernaculars and with no pretence of any knowledge to read or pass proofs himself, can call himself a printer. This should not be, both in the interests of the trade and of the man himself. While he cannot do much

to further his own profits, he is practically ruining those of others by cutting rates. Ignorance begets ignorance. When a good workman loses business or gets none, he is ill at ease. He cuts prices too, and is soon on the high road to ruin. This is the real position now in the printing trade. Even in advanced countries, the demand for standardising the business of printing is persistently heard. Who must call himself a printer? That is a familiar cry in American and English printing trade journals. Not long ago, the *Master Printer*, one of the leading journals devoted to printing in America, wrote strongly on the point. It urged that the printing business should be standardised, meaning thereby that certain financial considerations should be required by the trade, *i. e.*, by the firms selling goods to the printer, whereby credit and business ability are to be considered and a standard or basis be set for one to be recognised and classified a "Printer." "The many drawbacks in the printing business," it says, "are primarily due to the fact that many enter the field with little or no experience of mercantile methods and finding it unnecessary to do as other manufacturers have to do—namely—carry a stock of raw material—that is what paper is to the printer. We find the methods often pursued by printers lead to demoralisation and discredit. The business though large in volume and important, stands at a low standard in the business world. In having the printer to carry a stock of paper—say a job printer be required to carry and keep to the mark, a stock of \$ 1,000,000 and cylinder firm \$3,000,000—you will immediately fix a standard on which recognition by the trade would be given for trade prices and credit. This would be advantageous to all—for the jobber would be doing business more in bulk, a great saving would be made in the item of delivery alone, say nothing of spoilage, overhead expenses and reducing clerical expenses as well." Here is a useful suggestion to the supply firms in this part of India. But will they take the hint in good part and try to help the true printer?

A Printer who is alive to his own interests will before long be compelled—if indeed he has not already been—to study the "Cost system." I should be glad to see this taken up by the Associations of the printing trade I have advocated above. This is an important thing, important as much to the individual printer as to the trade generally. Printing for profit must take note of the cost of doing business. At present partly fear of competition and more largely ignorance stand in the way of his doing so. But if he wants to succeed he must have regard for himself. He must charge for type, especially if he is doing much advertising work, which is still in its infancy here, for it is his stock-in-trade in every bill. That seems but just, but how many actually think of doing so? Every trade does it, why not the printing trade? Do we not pay for printed wrappers and advertisement charges when we pay for a cake of soap? Do we not pay for the designs of engravers,

lithographers? And if so, why should a man who wants to have a hand bill or book printed go without paying something for depreciation of type and machinery which help to get his work done or for designs? He would not himself object, if the charge was made under proper heads, and if the work was otherwise satisfactory. This, I think, is eminently a matter for consideration for printers generally in this country. I trust they will think well of it and do what they can to bring about a wholesome feeling in favour of this point.

I would urge upon printers in India to remember that business capacity of a high order is necessary to do printing on a large scale. Printing work in India is daily on the increase. If we want to attract it to ourselves we should try to aim at better business methods. Much depends on this, if we are to retain the work in this country. There is hardly any use blaming anyone if business went out of it for lack of enthusiastic co-operation and real business ability in Indian printers. Every Local and State Government in India is, I think, to-day genuinely anxious to help industrial enterprise in its own territories and if the *entrepreneur's* spirit is still lacking in our people it is not their fault. Our people *must* wake up. Our people *must* realise we are at the parting of the ways. And our people must try to meet new conditions in a new spirit.

I am glad to note in this connection that the improving of Vernacular Typography is everywhere claiming attention. This is really an urgent matter. So far as Kannda (the principal vernacular of the Mysore State) is concerned, it is indeed a matter of supreme importance. The present position is, to say the least of it, an intolerable one. There is necessity to do all Kannda work in good, well cast, and beautifully cut types. Here, too, business ability, a knowledge of popular wants and an artistic temperament, are requisite in the printer. His calling is the hand maid of all trade and commerce, of religion and philosophy and of the sciences and arts. Printing can no more be classed as a "luxury" among industries; it is one of the necessities of the times. One can well imagine what the world would be to-day without printing.

I will now conclude with a few words of brotherly counsel to fellow printers. I would first ask them to esteem their business. They should study, then, that which they most affect. They should always print for profit and not for the mere luxury of having business. They must put principle before price in accepting work. They must choose their staff aright and trust it. They should strive for all-round efficiency in their business. They should cast out worthless methods, for printing methods and machinery are always changing. They should deal fairly with their customers, big and small, high and low, rich and poor. They should note that quality is always preferable to cheapness. They should not forget that a knowledge of estimating is

essential to do business on right lines. They should avoid, if possible, contract estimates, for printing cost varies from day to day and is dependent on a variety of considerations, such as paper prices, labour cost, the time taken by the work contracted for and many other things. But they should stipulate for fair dealing on both sides, and no man can ask for or need get more. They should try to keep in touch with the trade movement elsewhere through the many journals now available to a printer taking a real delight in his work. They should aim at becoming specialists in printing work. They should remember that "Honesty is the best policy" in printing as in everything else. They should remember also that accuracy leads to honesty. Beyond all, they should remember that printing is more than a mere trade; it is an art to be loved and practised to secure the highest possible profit to oneself and to one's country.

Mirza Zulkarnain, the Armenian Grandee of Moghul Times.

By Mr. H. W. B. MORENO.

HERE are few people that are acquainted with the Armenian community in India, their condition, their traditions, and the spheres of their activity. Many are ignorant of their past, and the influence they exerted for good in those olden days of turmoil and unrest. Chief among the Armenians of those times, was Mirza Zulkarnain, a man of sterling worth, deep religious principles and of a highly charitable nature. The Revd. Father Hosten, S. J., has a very illuminating Memoir on this Armenian Grandee, and I am greatly indebted to him for the facts concerning his career. Briefly recounted it may be stated that Mirza Zulkarnain (the Lord Alexander) was the Mahomedan title of an Armenian whose Christian name was Belchior (Melchior) Gonsalvo. He was the son of a merchant of Aleppo who settled in India and became attached to Akbar's Court at Lahore under the title of Mirza Sikandar (the Lord Alexander). Mirza Sikandar's wife was Bibi (Lady) Juliana, daughter of Khwaja (or Mir) Abdul Hai, perhaps an Armenian convert to Islam, who appears to have been one of Akbar's Judges (Kazis). Juliana died before 1598, as in that year on the persuasion of one of Akbar's Queens, perhaps a sister of the late Juliana, he married his deceased wife's sister at Lahore. This was to the great scandal of the Jesuit Fathers at the Court, as the family were strict Roman Catholics. Mir Abdul Hai was brother of Mir Abdullah who was a court-player on the Dulcimer (*Kanun*) and this may have been the origin of the family connection with the Court.

Mirza Sikandar had two sons both with names representing Alexander : Mirza Iskandarus, born 1592 and Mirza Zulkarnain 1595 who were adopted by one of Akbar's Queens after a well-known oriental fashion and brought up in the royal apartments. He died in 1613 being at his death in possession of a *jagir* and the farm of the government salt monopoly at the Sambhar Lake in Rajputana worth annually 5 to 6 lakhs of rupees. He was succeeded in his office by Mirza Zulkarnain then 18 years old, who proved to be a skilful administrator, an able musician and a good vernacular poet. In 1620 Jahangir praised his administration and made him *Faujdar* of Sambhar. Between 1627 and 1632 he was *Faujdar* of Bahraich in Oudh.

Mirza Zulkarnain was all his life a staunch Roman Catholic for in those days no Armenian Church had been founded in India ; the Holy Church of Nazareth was founded in Calcutta only in 1724, a little previous to that the Armenians worshipped in a wooden chapel in China Bazar Street, to the north of the city.

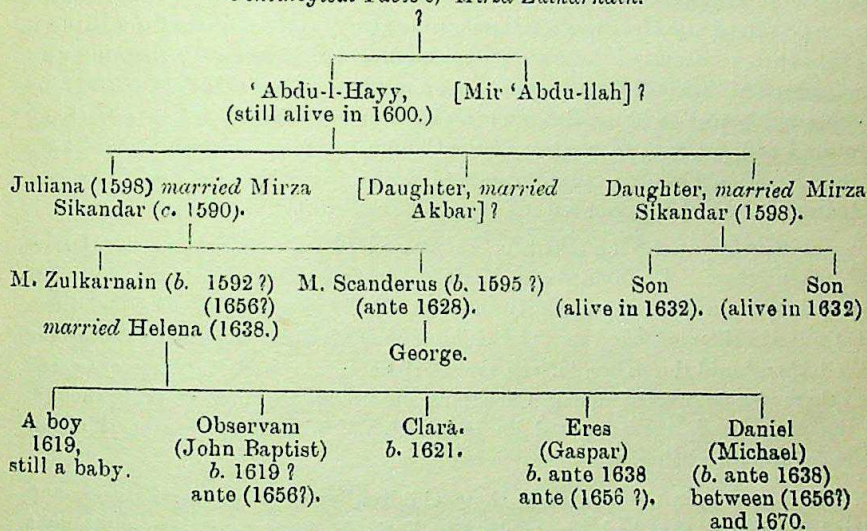
Although the two brothers Iskandarus and Zulkarnain had been forcibly circumcised in 1606 as Mahomedans by Jahangir's orders, when the elder was 14 and the younger was 11, they always resisted all efforts to convert them to Islam. When Shah Jahan who had been Zulkarnain's playmate in the palace became intolerant of non-Mahomedans, he recalled Zulkarnain from Bahraich, and in 1633 inflicted him of so much money (estimated at 8 lakhs of rupees) that he was practically ruined. About 1640 he was again favoured. In 1645 he served in Bengal with Sultan Shuja, one of Shah Jahan's sons, leaving his *jagir* of Sambhar to be administered by an uncle called Jani Beg on a salary of Rs. 50,000. In 1649

he was back on his *jagir*, in 1651 he was in Kashmere and in 1652 at Lahore, on both occasions with the Emperor Shah Jahan.

Meanwhile a 'true' nephew, George, had arrived from Aleppo and he stayed with Zulkarnain for over two years and in 1652 was sent to Rome to salute the Pope in his uncle's name. In 1654 Zulkarnain gave up his *jagir* and retired to Delhi on a pension of Rs. 100 per diem and there, it is presumed, he died. His wife's name was Helena. She died in 1638 and was buried in a fine garden he had at Lahore. She left three sons and a daughter Clara who married well; the sons had all the title of Mirza and were respectively Observam (John Baptist) who died in 1619, Eres (Irij, Irich) or Gaspar, born ante 1638, and Daniel; they all predeceased their father except Daniel.

The ancestors and descendants of the Armenian Grandee, are here subjoined, in the form of a genealogical tree.

Genealogical Table of Mirza Zulkarnain.



It is also stated that Nuralla a relative of Zulkarnain was alive at Delhi between 1670-78. A great-grand-daughter of Zulkarnain was Bibi Anna Dessa; (1736 Delhi). Mirza Sikandar's second wife and her two sons apostatised in September 1632.

As a child Zulkarnain was a great favourite with the Emperor Akbar, for in the letter of Fr. Jer. Xavier, 1596 we read: "Last year (1595) before the whole people, the King (Akbar) had a reliquary of our lady attached with a gold chain round his neck and he gave it to a small boy, a Christian, (Zulkarnain) the son of an Armenian Christian, whom he had about his neck, and kissing it with his lips and eyes he gave it to the boy to kiss and put it on his eyes and finally he hung it on his breast and gave it to him; this while at the window before the whole people."

In the Memoir of Fr. Hosten it is stated: "Iskandar (the father of Zulkarnain) enjoyed the *jagir* of Sambhar, where he would have been in charge of the government salt monopoly at the Salt Lake.

Shortly after Jahangir's accession to the throne, at the end of 1605, Sikandar came (from Sambhar) to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor and give an account of his administration. Jahangir pressed him to become a Mahomedan,

The circumstances, which led the Emperor to prove false to the good advice he had himself given to Sikandar in 1598, were as follows: There was at the Court a young Hindu nobleman, who had allowed himself to be circumcised. He was the son of a great Captain, who had been high in Akbar's favour. One day, Jahangir represented to him that, as he was no longer a heathen, he ought to make choice of another religion and become either a Mahomedan or a Christian. "If you choose to become a Christian," he said, "I shall call the Fathers, who will baptize you." The young man choose to become a Mahomedan, and the King to mark his satisfaction had him paraded on an elephant throughout the city.

Seeing that what he had done delighted the Mahomedans, Jahangir now wished to obtain the same from Sikandar "a distinguished Armenian gentleman;" he had stood high in the favour of the late King; and he had his two sons brought up at Court with the King's own nephews. The King (Jahangir) took into his head that he would get this Christian to accept the law of Mahomed; but, he remained steadfast in his religion, to the great consolation of the Fathers. He kept them constantly informed of what happened, and one day, speaking with them, said:—"What do I desire more here on earth, than to die for the faith of my Saviour, in forgiveness of my sins and in expiation of the scandal I gave." (Long before, he had, contrary to the law of the Church and the representations of the Fathers, married the sister of his deceased wife). But this Christian (Sikandar, Zulkarnain's father) together with his two children escaped the danger.

Subsequently, the King asked for the two children, and hearing that father had taken them with him, he had them brought back to the place and received them in the most friendly manner. A few days later, he asked them what religion they belonged to. The children answered that they were Christians "Well, then," said the King, "if you are Christians, eat pork." They answered that there was no precept among Christians enjoining them to eat pork, though, on the other hand, there existed no prohibition." The King's proposal ended there for the time being.

The next day, in the morning, these children came to see the Fathers, and related to them all that had occurred. The Fathers encouraged them and taught how they should conduct themselves, in case the King should urge them further. Indeed, so it happened: for, as the Mahomedans did not cease sitting near the King's ears to get him to pervert these children, the King forbade them to go out of the palace, and kept them in confinement. When this had lasted some time, he had them brought again before him, and, placing pork before them, he wished to force them to eat it, but the younger of the two said that, if the Fathers should tell them they must eat it, they would do so. This had been pre-arranged, in the hope that the King would have the Fathers called, in which case they would assist the children and keep up their courage. The King wished to call for the Fathers, when one of his favourites grew so vexed at the answer of this little child that he slapped him once or twice in the face, saying angrily: "What hast thou to do with the Fathers here, when the King commands?" Seeing this, King left the Fathers and the pork alone, and said to the children: "There is nothing to be done. You must become Mahomedans. Recite then the *Calima*," i. e. the profession of faith of the Mahomedans). The children refused to comply. Hereupon, the King had many rods brought and gave orders to scourge them, as is done to malefactors. Terrified at the impending torture, the poor children muttered in a whisper between their teeth what the Mahomedans taught them. And so they were conducted sad and disconsolate to their room.

The next day, the King sent in some one to circumcise them, but, they would in no way allow it, and started crying so piteously that they were left unmolested this time, until the King had been informed. Not long after, they were brought before the King. He asked them why they refused to be circumcised. The poor children answered: "We shall never allow it, because we are Christians." The Fathers, who went daily to visit the King, had instructed them thus.

The King, hearing their bold answer, tried them first with great amiability, and next with grievous threats. Encompassed on every side and seeing that their words were of no avail, one of them approached the King, and, joining his little hands said: "Lord King, we beg of thee for the love of Alazareth Jeam (Hazrat Isa, that is, of the Lord Jesus,) not to have us circumcised." But the King, refused to listen, and ordering them to be bound hand and foot, he caused them to be forcibly circumcised. This done "Recite now," he said, "the *Calima*" (or profession of faith of the Mahomedans). They refused with great firmness, whereat the King became so angry that he commanded them without pity to be most cruelly scourged. The elder boy, being only fourteen years old, yielded under the pain; but the younger one, who was eleven years, kept firmer and would not comply. The blows were redoubled; yet, he was heard to say only: "Ah Alazareth Jeam!" that is, "Oh, Lord Jesus!" To strengthen himself he held continually a reliquary in his hands. Matters had now come to such a pass that the King was moved to pity and relented; but one of his favourites still gave the lad thirty blows, so hard and cruel that it was enough to make a stout man flinch. In fact, the poor child lost courage under this barbarous treatment and recited what they wanted him to.

Triumphant, as it were, at his victory, the King left orders to dress their wounds. The same night, the Fathers came near the children entirely unaware of what had passed. They found them stretched on the floor, quite disconsolate and not uttering a word. But, as soon as they perceived the Fathers, "We are Christians," they cried out, "we were circumcised against our will." The Fathers inspired them with courage to remain steadfast. They did so with such intrepidity that they loudly abused Mahomed in the presence of the Mahomedan priest, and cared no longer for what the King commanded; nay, the elder boy, who had been the weaker one under sufferings, seized a poniard and cut through the skin and flesh of his right arm a cross about a palm's length to triumph with these scars to the spite of the Mahomedans. As they behaved now openly as Christians and cared for nothing, the King, without molesting them further, left them alone.

The heroism of these brave lads had conquered Jahangir. He acknowledged it soon after. The King, seeing one day the two children, whom he had caused to be circumcised, called them to him and asked whether they wished to be Mahomedans or wanted to remain in the religion of their father. The children answered they would live and die in the faith of Jesus Christ, which they had sucked in with their mother's milk. Hearing this, the King turned to some of his favourites and remarked, "It is a shame not to remain in one's faith," and to the children he added, "Remain free in your religion."

The Fathers always spoke well of Zulkarnain's religious fervour and charitable principles. In an Annual Letter it is stated: "At all the most solemn Feasts of the year, Mirza sends to the Father a large sum of money to be distributed in alms among the poor Christians. His kindness towards those who came from paganism is beyond words. He helps and assists them in all their needs, that they may be confirmed in the Holy Faith. He does the same for orphan girls, who otherwise

would be in danger. He presents them with dowries and marries them according to their rank, thus placing their virtue beyond the reach of temptation. In a word, Prince Mirza is among these Mogores, another Apostle, a second St. Paul, who becomes *omnibus omnia, ut omnes Christo lucrifaciat* (all things to all men, that he may save all). Kind to all, the pillar of this Christianity, the only refuge of all the afflicted, he not only procures to all the bodily assistance they want, but ministers with even greater success to their souls. An old woman had for more than sixty years remained stubborn in her idolatry. She followed the superstitious sect of what they call here *jogin*. Hearing Prince Mirza's preaching and his pious exhortations, she resolved to become a Christian. And so, after a year's trial in order to confirm her in the Faith, she was solemnly baptized, to the great satisfaction of all, and with the hope of converting others. Another, a lady of rank, wished to become a Christian, chiefly, she said, because the religion of that Father of ours whom she saw daily assisting people in dying well and burying the poor, could not be false. Such then is the power, even on the heart of barbarians, of the example of Christian piety and mercy."

Michel Angelo Lualdi summarizes the Annual Letter of Goa for 1619, when he says : "The Faith was propagated most in a certain province of Mogor, where Mirza Zulkarnain, a native of Armenia and a Christian from his birth ruled since 1619 with the title of Governor. Greatly in favour with the King, and therefore very powerful, he promoted largely our religion. He built a church in his province, where the faithful would assemble and acquit themselves of the observances of their religion. The number of the poor having greatly increased, he took some two hundred of them into his palace and supported them with great generosity. This example of his faith and charity drew many away from the impious persuasion of Mahomed, and the unhappy thralldom of idolatry; hence, he obtained the name of Father of the Christians of Mogor. Extending still further the bounds of his great charity, and in order to keep up the care of our Redeemer's Sepulchre in Jerusalem, he sent thither from the remote banks of the Ganges rich presents and a goodly sum of money for the maintenance of the religions entrusted with the custody of the Holy Places. He wished to have a Sodality established under the patronage of the Mother of God, and he was the first to have himself enrolled and to profess his allegiance to the great Queen. When the exercises of the Friday scourging was introduced, he distributed himself the chords to the congregation, and to induce them to chastise the unruly senses for their rebellion against reason he would forestall them in taking the discipline. Every day he assisted with great reverence at the Sacrifice of the Mass, beseeching the Lord of all things to keep and augment his Christian flock. So lively and unfaltering was his faith that, when human means failed to avert from his consort the dangers of parturition, he had recourse to help divine. Full of trust in a crucifix containing sacred relics which he wore round his neck, he took it off placed it round the neck of the lady, and presently she was happily delivered of a lovely boy. The pious Armenian considered himself beholden to God for this heavenly favour, and in token of his gratitude to the Eternal Monarch he restored all his prisoners to liberty. But, lest clemency should get the better of justice he paid their creditors from his own purse, leaving criminal cases to be judged in another Court."

It may also be mentioned that Zulkarnain was an accomplished composer of Hindi songs. His method in this art was correct, and his compositions were frequently brought to notice and were approved.

Besides his many other benefactions, Mirza Zulkarnain gave a handsome sum of money by which the Jesuits bought landed property near the Salsette, Bombay. With his help the Jesuits founded the College at Agra. The Superior of the Mission was the Rector of the College as well. Similarly a Mission was formed in Tibet, with funds from the Mirza, but it was destroyed in 1640.

Then followed a period of persecution. Fr. Francis Corsi, writing to the General of the Order, from Agra, on the 5th October, 1633, states that in September 1632 the Mirza's step-mother and his two half-brothers had of their own accord become Mahomedans, hoping thus to save their lives. Then the Mirza was recalled from Bengal and Shah Jahan wished to make a Mahomedan of him too, or else seize his treasures. He began, however, by molesting the Fathers. On the day of the Epiphany 1633, their house was invaded by armed soldiery, and the three bells, one of them a present from Jahangir, were removed from the steeple. Even one of their great friends, a former pupil of theirs, turned against the Fathers. Fr. Francis Corsi going to his house on February 18th was severely ill-treated. On February 23rd, the Fathers were suddenly ordered to leave their house and were kept four days in prison. On being allowed to go home they found everything in such disorder that it took them eight days to fit it up again. On March 6th, they said Mass again; but the judge came that day, sat down, called the Mirza and began tormenting several persons to know where his treasures were. Fr. de Castro received, on three occasions, fifty lashes. After the fourth or fifth blow he fell senseless to the ground. That night the Mirza was taken to the palace and the four Fathers were then next day conducted to prison. On the 13th March they were released together with the Mirza when the latter promised that he would pay the sum they wanted, 400,000 *scudi*, (8 lakhs of rupees). Afterwards they wanted more and both the Mirza and the Fathers were left alone for the time being. The Mirza subsequently paid 3 lakhs of *scudi*, but he had still to pay one lakh more. From the position of a rich man he was reduced to poverty though the Fathers hoped that the King would sooner or later reinstate him. In spite of it all Zulkarnain to the day of his death enjoyed a unique position which many envied.

The Armenian historian, Thomas Khojamall, gives an account of the Mirza, written probably from traditions. By no means accurate in detail, yet it throws a deal of side light on the career of the Grandee. He calls him Qulqurnell, the son of Hakobjan (Jacobjan) of Julfa. Khojamall's account states: "Akbar Shah, the Great, Emperor of India, Son of Nasiruddin Humayun, ascended the throne in the year of our Lord 1554. In his days there had come from Julfa a Mr. Jacob, with his wife, and he resided at Kashmere and engaged in trade. There a son was born to them; but, unfortunately, not finding a priest at that place to baptize the child, they named him, according to their own wishes, Qulqurnell.

The mighty Emperor during this time goes to Kashmere to visit his subjects, and, whilst going about *incognito*, he comes across the child of Mr. Jacob and is much pleased with his beauty. He orders some of his chiefs to stay there and ascertain whose child he is and to take him with his parents to him. The chiefs, having found out, took the parents with him to the Emperor. When Akbar heard that he was of the American nation, he became very glad. He liked the child very much; and, turning to the father, said: "Oh, Mr. *Moosafir* (Traveller) and respected Merchant, will you give me or not your son, so that I may adopt him, for I have no son?" Mr. Jacob, having bowed, replied: "My lord, King,

live for ever. Although I and mine are your servants, yet shall I not give him willingly, for I am an Armenian by nationality and Christian, and you are Turk and Mahomedan ; if I were to give you my child and you make him Mahomedan I shall be disgraced amongst my own people and they will upbraid me by saying that either for money or through force I gave my son to the King. "The King was greatly pleased at this pious and fearless reply, and he swore that he would never interfere with the religion of either the child or the parents." "Remain firm in your religion," he said, "I shall be exceedingly glad ; but, as I have no child, I shall adopt this child."

Then he ordered that, dressed in regal robes, they should be taken to his palace and that the child should be kept in every kind of comfort as his son so long as he remained in Kashmere. Then, when he returned to Akbarabad (Agra) he took with him this very adopted Qulqurnell with his parents and there gave to Mr. Jacob for his residence a place near the *Seakhana* (Armoury) of the King. He then ordered that they should build a church, have an Armenian priest brought out, and follow their ancestral faith. Hearing this, there came to Akbarabad from Julfa an Archimandrite, a priest and many Armenian families, who were very well received by the King, who granted them 5,000 bighas of land at Akbarabad for building houses, gardens, farms and other important places. But Qulqurnell, the adopted son of the King, was always at the palace, where he was a great favourite of both the King and the Queens, and you may say he was being taken from the arms of one to the other.

God knows how to make his beloved respected before foreign nations, because the King was kind enough to allow an Armenian child to remain pure in his religion and for his sake showed respect to his nation ; therefore God too was pleased to reward him according to his wishes ; hence, in the year 1563, on the 17th of Rabi-ul-Avval, he gave the King a male child, from his favourite Queen, and he was called Mir Salim Salathin, that is to say, heir-apparent. The mighty Emperor too was not unaware of this divine favour, for it is said that he would always say, "God looked at me and gave me this my second child through the coming of the Armenians and my favourite son Qulqurnell." And thus the two children growing up together were very fond of each other, and the King seeing their innocent love was exceedingly pleased. When Qulqurnell came of age, Akbar gave him landed properties, namely *jagirs*, the town of Hoogly in Bengal, the provinces or *pergannah* of Somar Sambhar in the district of Akbarabad, whence comes good salt, and the country of the Punjab in Lahore. Then Qulqurnell commenced building himself grand palaces with shops all round, and he had jewellers, that is *johurries*, whom he kept occupied, for they say he himself was very fond of buying and selling precious stones. It seems he was by nature a very humble and meek person, but the King Akbar liked him so much that without his order nobody could do anything, either rich or poor. It is said that whoever wished to go to him was allowed freely and boldly and he never allowed the request of those who went to him to remain ungranted. He would neither eat nor drink much, not that he wished to show himself off with pride but that he had made a habit of it. But they say he had the *mansab* (rank) of seven thousands and paid much attention to it.

In the year of our Lord 1605, King Akbar died and Mirza Salim Salathin succeeded him and was called Nur-ud-din Jahangir. When the whole world was going to congratulate the King on his accession, Qulqurnell trembling through fear would not come out of the house and would not go to offer felicitations to the

King. Several times he sent word to him and invited him to come, but his false fear compelled him to run away by himself and go to his *jagir* at Hooghly. This escape made the King very sorry, so he ordered that all the Armenians be watched. Afterwards when he learnt that the escape was more through fear than anything else, he wrote on oath; "Fear not, I and you are brothers. Do you not know my love from my youth? Come to me, and, whatever may be your request, I shall grant you same. Is it likely that I should be ungrateful towards my father's behest and think of harming you? If you do not come willingly, I shall have you brought in bonds?" In like manner, our own people (the Armenians) beseechingly wrote to him to come.

When he came and presented himself, the King loved him much and said, "Why do you now keep aloof, brother? Am I going to take back from you the properties presented to you by my father, or is there anything wanting which I will not make good? Ask, even half of my kingdom, and I shall grant it to you?" Our hermit king-to-be fell on his face to the ground and said, "My Lord, I verily know your love and favour, but I beg of you to allow me to stay at home like a poor man and pray for you?" The King said, "Since that is your wish, I am glad; do as you like, but come and see me sometimes?"

Henceforward, having retired from all important affairs he gave himself up to singing, which in the Indian language is *Rag*, and he made so much progress that he was not inferior to the very best singers of olden times. His name is proclaimed in the Indian work called *Ragmala*. Following such trivial pursuits, he neglected himself, his children (of whom, they say, some are still to be found at Chandenagore in Bengal), as also his properties and his own nation."

So lived and died the Armenian Magnate of Moghul days. His is not the only case of an Armenian enjoying affluence and rising to a position of responsibility and power. After him there followed several others, who though they had scarcely the opportunity to achieve such singular dignity none the less exerted a good deal of influence in their own times and flourished in merchandise and other kindred pursuits. So great was the mercantile enterprise of the Armenians in Calcutta before 1757 that after the battle of Plassey they were awarded £ 70,000 for losses suffered during the sack of Calcutta. With the advent of the British in India, the Armenians have always held their own; and to-day one has only to inquire to know what positions they hold as opulent merchants and as leading traders and citizens throughout the Indian Empire.

Arithmetic in Vernacular Schools of the United Provinces.

By Mr. NARMADESHWAR PRASAD UPADHAE, M. A., LL. B.

TILL the year of Grace 1916, or to be strictly correct up to the end of June, 1917, so many as eleven series of Arithmetics issued by different Indian publishers were the alternative text books prescribed by the Education Department for the Vernacular Schools of the United Provinces. Since July, 1917, however, to the exclusion of every one of these series, a new Arithmetic issued in vernacular by certain non-Indian publishers has been in use in Vernacular Schools. The exclusion being the subject of a Resolution moved by a non-official member of the Provincial Legislative Council at a meeting held last year at Lucknow, the Hon'ble Mr. de la Fosse defended his position by making the following extract from the Report of the Primary Education Committee appointed by the Government of Sir John Hewett:

"We do not deny that there are certain advantages derived from competition in such a matter, that is, in prescribing alternative text books. At the same time we think we ought to call the attention of the Government to the fact that the existing system is open to objections. We think that inducements are sometimes offered to teachers and the members of the inspecting staff to push the sale of one of the books rather than another and this is very undesirable. We are inclined to think also that if the Department of Public Instruction would acquire an Arithmetic book set for primary schools the copyright of which would belong to the Government and arrange for the publication of the book in the same way as Readers, it should be possible to put a good Arithmetic book into the hands of the pupils at much cheaper rates."

In making the above extract the Director of Public Instruction has utilised that portion of the Report alone which strengthens his own position and unhappily omitted a material part which in fairness to his colleagues he should have laid before the Council. The paragraph that immediately follows the one quoted by the Director runs as follows:

"We are not prepared to make any positive recommendation on this point, the question being substantially a departmental one as to which it is not easy for this Committee to pronounce a final opinion."

It is evident from the above remark that the Committee repudiated all responsibility of making any positive recommendation on the subject and without finding fault with the quality of the several series of Arithmetics then in use simply brought

it to the notice of the Government and the Director of Public Instruction that undue influence was brought to bear upon teachers and inspectors to have certain Arithmetics used to the exclusion of others, rightly observing that if inspectors and teachers actually fell victims to the temptations offered them, it was a matter solely for the consideration of the Government and the Director. Now, a number of alternative English Readers and Histories is prescribed for Anglo-Vernacular Schools and it is a matter of common knowledge that teachers and inspectors are constantly pestered with visits from a host of rival canvassers, each attempting to have his own books patronised. No exception, however, is taken to the practice, the theory presumably being that all the alternative Readers and Histories, as in the case of Arithmetic books, have received the recommendation of the Text Book Committee and the sanction of the Education Department. If the use of any one Arithmetic to the exclusion of the others was, however, such a heinous crime that it could not be tolerated, the proper remedy was to exercise a proper amount of control over the teachers and inspectors concerned. By doing away, however, with all the eleven series and substituting for them but one series, the Director has only aggravated the evil he professes to have eradicated.

It has pleased the Director of Public Instruction to attach for his own purpose too much importance to a certain remark of the Primary Education Committee. Taking it, however, for granted that the Committee did recommend the appointment of an absolute text book in Arithmetic, let us proceed to consider how far and in what form the recommendation of the Committee has been accepted by the Education Department. The main grounds on which the recommendation is said to have been made are that there shall be issued (1) a good Arithmetic book, and (2) at much cheaper rates. (1) At a meeting of the Legislative Council held in April last, two non-official members, the Hon. Mr. Narain Prasad Asthana and the Hon. Syed Raza Ali, drew the attention of Government to the numerous errors with which the new Arithmetic is alleged to teem. At a subsequent meeting the Hon. Lala Madhusudan Dayal put a question inviting attention to the utter worthlessness of the chapter in the new Arithmetic on the Indian system of book-keeping, and surely the banker, Lala Madhusudan Dayal, is no mean judge of the subject on which he expressed his opinion in no equivocal terms.

In the *Leader* of Allahabad, in the *Schoolmaster* of Aligarh, the *Advocate* of Lucknow, and several other papers there have appeared numerous articles showing the unsuitability of the Arithmetic as an absolute text book. That organ of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, in reviewing the new Arithmetic, indeed, says, "It is no exaggeration to say that the book contains at least one thousand errors." Protest meetings composed of publishers, schoolmasters, educationists and others have been held in all important towns throughout the province. A representation signed by that eminent Indian Mathematician, Dr. Zia-ud-din, in whose judgment the Government of India repose so much confidence ~~that~~ they have appointed him one of those select few to deliberate over the reform scheme of the Calcutta University, has been submitted to the local Government. (2) As to the cheapness of the new series it will be enough to quote one of the papers mentioned above which pertinently observes :—

"The plea of cheapness raised by the Director strikes us to be as sound as that urged by the Germans that they are fighting for the freedom of the world."

At the meeting of the Provincial Legislative Council to be held in April next the Hon'ble Syed Al-i-Nabi of Agra is to move two most important Resolutions in connection with the appointment of Arithmetic books in the vernacular schools of the United Provinces and the thorough overhauling of the system on which the Text Book Committee works. Some months ago the Hon. Member had submitted these Resolutions to the Council, and if their consideration has so long been postponed the delay has been welcome in view of the fact that they will now come in for discussion before His Honour the new President, Sir Harcourt Butler, late Education Member of the Government of India. We may here mention that in criticising the answers given by the Director of Public Instruction to some of the questions put in connection with educational matters, a certain honourable member recently observed, "My complaint is that the answers were rather inadequate and incomplete and even sometimes evasive." The Director had not a word to say in defence of the charge preferred. We hope and pray that the debate on the subjects under reference may be conducted in a perfect attitude of trust, good feeling and good will, and that full redress may be made where a great wrong has been done.

Bengal in Transition.

By DR. BISWA NATH MUKERJEE, L. M. S.,

1. *The War and the great change.*

THE war has brought a great change in the national life of Bengal. It has changed the nervous and cowardly Bengali into a brave and warlike soldier ! Lord Macaulay's rash and unweighed words that the Bengali was a race of men particularly backward in bodily conflict have now been totally given the lie to by the events of the present day. History often repeats itself though civilised man puts very little faith in it. And if the thoughtless act of Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb goaded the peaceful Sikh cultivators to take up arms in defence of their cause and be the greatest warrior race of the Punjab, the ill-considered Partition of Bengal by the Government of Lord Curzon put a new vigour into the Bengali race to enter a strong protest against this act of rashness and to acquire a high sense of patriotism and love for their country.

Good and evil are often mixed together. And while it must be admitted that this agitation against the policy of the Government has generated much patriotism in the hearts of the people, it has been also a fruitful cause of the unrest that now remains scattered all over the country. But, if it could be admitted that the Sikhs owe a great deal to Aurangzeb for their present military prowess, it cannot be denied that Lord Curzon is responsible for much that now goes by the name of disloyalty and lawlessness in Bengal. Pent up and hurt feelings seldom get a full expression. So there is little doubt that not getting a free outlet they have become stagnant, latterly decomposed and have given rise to a smell of putrefaction, threatening the whole country with contamination. Mrs. Besant from her presidential chair in the last Calcutta Congress said: "In Bengal, however, the martial type has been revived, chiefly in consequence of what the Bengalis felt to be the intolerable insult of the high-handed Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon." On this Gopal Krishna Gokhale said: "Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India... All India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal." The spirit evoked showed itself in the youth of Bengal by a practical revolt led by elders while it was confined to Swadeshi and Boycott, and rushing on when it broke away from their authority, into conspiracy, assassination and dacoity—as had happened in similar revolts with young Italy, in the days of Mazzini, and with young Russia in the days of Stepniak and Kropotkin. The result of their despair, necessarily met by the halter and penal servitude, had to be faced by Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael during the present war. Other results happy instead of disastrous in their nature were the development of grit and endurance of a high character, shown in the courage of the Bengal lads in the serious floods that have laid parts of the Province deep under water, and in their compassion and self-sacrifice in the relief of famine. Their services in the present war—the Ambulance Corps and the replacement of its *material* when the ship carrying it sank, with the splendid services rendered by it in Mesopotamia; the recruiting of a Bengali regiment for active service, 900 strong with another 900 reserves to replace wastage and recruiting still going on—these are instances of the divine alchemy which brings the soul of good out of evil action, and consecrates to service the qualities evoked by rebellion."

2. *Bengal before and after Lord Curzon.*

But it cannot be said that the origin of the Bengali national life was only from the Curzonian Partition. Long before the time Lord Curzon came into India Raja Ram Mohan Ray, who in some sense may be called the father of Northern India, caused the rays of patriotism fall on the emotional land of Bengal. He was the right hand man of Lord William Bentinck, and did much to help his lordship in fighting out bravely and successfully many religious and social superstitions, that clouded the intelligence of the Bengali people of those days. Thus he pioneered the way which was diligently followed by some of his enthusiastic followers and disciples—Maharshi Devandra Nath Tagore, Ramtanu Lahiri, Keshav Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekanand and many others. Also long before the years 1905—6—7 and 8 when the revolutionary feelings in the Bengali race were in their full vigour having collided with the repressive and restrictive measures of Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, her national poets Bharat Chandra, Bankim, Hemchandra and Rangalal and her national orators and statesmen Surendra, Shishir, Lal Mohan, Manmohan and Ananda Mohan had poured the spirit of national awakening into this inquisitive people. Thus a strong national union was developing in the people of Bengal and the author of the partition thought it wise to nip it in the bud and so tried his best to repress it. But as our national poet, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore has said, "What kills off other races served as a secret for prolonging the life of our race. Other races decline and perish when their ambition loses its ardour, when their energy tires and slackens. But we had taken infinite pains to curb our ambitions and paralyse our energy, in order to prolong our life in the same peaceful even course. And it seems to me that we had gained some success in this direction."

No doubt by his partition Lord Curzon indicated his strong disapproval of any national awakening in the peoples of Bengal. And he thought if he would take an early step he would be able to stifle this national consciousness, which might spread from Bengal to other provinces and build up a larger or wider fabric of nationality and stir up a national awakening which might afterwards assume an All-India nature. But he did not know that even at that time the Congress was some 20 years old and had its connecting links in different provinces in Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee of Bengal, in Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji of Bombay, in Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyer of Madras and in Pandit Ajodhya Nath of the United Provinces. There was already a great mortification and discontent with no definite shape of its own in the whole of the Indian Peninsula and especially in Bengal, and Lord Curzon's poking his nose into these affairs only aggravated the situation a ten-fold. In his "Hindu Review" of August, 1913 Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal gives a very brilliant exposition of the above. Says he, "There was considerable discontent among the articulate classes in the country before Lord Curzon's time, but really no serious unrest. And the reason was that before Lord Curzon came amongst us, people did not recognise any irreconcilable antagonism between the gradual fulfilment of their national aspirations and the continuance of the British authority in their country. They were dreaming pleasant dreams of a future when India would be as free as England but live still in peace and happiness under the aegis of Great Britain. Lord Curzon's acts, and especially his candid utterances dashed all these hopes down to the ground. He told the people in the plainest possible terms that as long as the Government of India continued to be British, so long the supreme political authority must rest in this country in the representatives of the British people, and that the people of India must be content to perpetually occupy a subordinate place. The higher functions of the State, in the due exercise of which the highest manhood of

a people finds scope and opportunity to fully realise itself *must always be reserved for the foreigner in India* and not for the children of the soil. Not the evolution of self-government but the establishment of good government was Britain's recognised mission and responsibility in India. And Lord Morley lent support to this Curzonian ideal by declaring from his place in the House of Commons, that the Government of India must so far as his imagination went, continue to be a personal Government. This cruel truth had never been so cruelly proclaimed in India or England by any responsible British Statesman. It broke into our dreams dispelled our illusion, and quickened a sense of the unreality of all our previous, political ideas and activities. It generated the conviction that there was an irreconcilable conflict between the interests of India and those of England. And it was just this conviction which converted the old discontent into the unrest." (*Italics are mine*).

But we can have no blind faith in the opinion of those false philosophers, who say but for the Partition the manifestations of patriotism and warm political social and national activities which emanated with overwhelming force and burning enthusiasm from desperate hearts were never possible. The furious zeal into which the love of Swadeshi had thrown the whole of Bengal was quite laudable. But one thing that was most to be marked in this connexion was that the nationalists and youthful agitators who were but an outcome of the rash and thoughtless measures of Lord Curzon acted as an echo of his imperious actions. The rush of national feelings came as a whirl-pool or uncheckable currents of water over them and they could not calmly think over their own actions and doings. As his lordship preached and forced the doctrines of "bureaucratism," upon these stubborn people, they, too, faithfully copied their master and wanted to thrust their own faith on the rustics of villages and delivered sermons and gospels of Swadeshim to them at the point of bayonet and bomb. Thus the sober effects of nationalism which the hopes given by Queen's Proclamation of 1858, the Charter Act of 1833 and various other announcements subsequently made by British sovereigns and politicians had created in the public mind were lost for ever by the folly of an English Viceroy. A writer in the December 1917 number of the Round Table writes a passage which may be appropriately applied to the case of Lord Curzon. Says he, "Half the troubles of the British in India have been caused by their failure to find a position of any real importance in their system for Indians equipped with a sufficiently thorough western education to qualify them for the task of interpreting the mind of the west to the mind of the east." Not to speak of Indians even men like Lord Curzon and Lord Morley, who may be said to have been thoroughly competent for this task in view of their liberal education and vast imagination failed egregiously in their duty by declaring to the nascent Indian mind that so long as the British Government in India would last Indians would always have to occupy a subordinate place and that the English Government in India would be a personal government certainly in defiance to the Royal declarations that "no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural born subject of his Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, decent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the company."

Our belief is Lord Curzon's tampering with the political creed of Bengal was quite premature and inopportune and was nothing short of stifling into death of the bud of the great rose of national awakening, which, though then looked thorny to his naked eye, if allowed to blossom into a flower of full growth would have

sent forth its sweet fragrance throughout the length and breadth of the whole Empire. Certainly, it would have been a tower of strength to the British people to-day. Just at the time the western streams of democratic feelings and the western glamour of material civilisation were looming very large to the vision of young Bengal at a distant horizon. She, though at first felt staggered at its sight, gradually recollected her consciousness and was on the way to a slow but steady progress towards goal, when she received an undeserved blow on her face and for some time fell unconscious on the ground.

It was at this period of national unconsciousness and national dejection and heart burning that lawlessness had been given vent to by some of the prematurely developed brains of the Bengali people who due to the Government's repressive and coercive actions could not get access to these nobler and more ripened minds, who themselves feared and deplored Government's unreasonable and shortsighted judgement and kept themselves aloof from these helpless underlings. This was a great loss to the national emancipation of Bengal and many youths with exquisitely bright careers, who would have done much to raise Bengal and for the matter of that the whole of India greatly in the scale of world-improvement were lost to her for ever. As the elderly people felt nervous to come near these fiery youths owing to the liberal despotism of the executive government and the uncontrolled power of the C. I. D. no words of advice from those, whose voice would have carried weight and conviction with them reached them and the lawlessness grew in volume and intensity and would have not been lowered down to its present position but for the wise and kind governments of the two ex-rulers of India—Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael.

3. *Lord Minto and the effects of his policy.*

Lord Minto who succeeded Lord Curzon had to rule a more turbulent India than most of his predecessors. But though a far more wise and cool-brained official he had still much of the military blood running in his veins. He was a bit nervous and not so fully equal to the occasion as the people first expected him to be. He made confusion the worst confounded. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal said in this connexion, "Trained in the free atmosphere of St. Stephen's Lord Curzon could both give and take, and was distinctly less fearful of violent speech or open antagonism than either Lord Minto or Sir Bamfylde Fuller or Sir Andrew Fraser, the three men who are so largely responsible for creating the recent troubles in Bengal." So it was in the régime of these rulers that all the repressive measures of Government came to pass. Just at this time, while writing a short sketch of that selfless patriot Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, Indicus wrote, "these outrages were wanton and gruesome enough and Sir Harvey Adamson gave an exhaustive list of them in introducing his Bill for the amendment of the Criminal Law. After this a Press Act, an Explosive's Act, and a Crime's Act were successively hurried through the Supreme Legislative Council. A situation was thus created between the anarchist and the Government in which an immediate *coup* had to be made, and the Government decided to put into operation the regulation III of 1818. As a result of this *coup*, some sane and sober leaders of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal like Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Krishna Kumar Mitra—men who could never have been guilty in thought or action of any sympathy with anarchism—were dramatically arrested and secretly deported without any charge being framed against them. The impression has gained ground in the public mind that a grave injustice has been done and a signal blunder has been perpetrated by these deportations." In public domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

said that his one specific purpose was to give the country rest or to use his exact words 'to ease the horse.' We doubt if he was ever successful in his attempts. But there is little doubt that he was always sincere in his aims and objects. He failed because he was under the strong conviction that nothing but repression would meet the situation. And upon this it will be very convenient to quote the opinion of a very moderate and thoughtful politician who belongs to a part of the country other than the Bengal proper. I mean Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha who wrote in the October-November 1910 issue of his *Hindustan Review*, 'Whatever might have been the case in other parts of the country, there was no "revolutionary sedition" in Bengal, previous to the partition of that province on an arbitrary plan. It was the partition that drove several loyal and moderate men in Bengal into the ranks of political agitation of an unprecedentedly vehement type, that led to the inauguration of the unfortunate "boycott" movement and as a result, to the deportation without trial of men like Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra. Our own view of the matter is that there would have been no "revolutionary sedition" at all, at any rate none worth mentioning, if Government had adopted a reasonably conciliatory attitude in regard to the partition.' But did the Government of Lord Minto take any such conciliatory attitude to it? Never. But on the other hand he said, "The strongest man is he who is not afraid of being called weak. It is the weak man, the man who is painfully conscious of his incapacity and his indecision of character, that is constantly in dread of discovering himself in his native weakness, by an act of concession. A strong man has no such fear." So, Lord Minto considered it an act of weakness to grant concessions to a crying and wronged people and it was for this reason that he with Lord Morley called the partition "a settled fact" and an act of coercion, the right instrument to put down rebellion. But time showed how foolish this idea was and what a harvest of unrest his Government has left to us. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in his own inimitable way of expression has said, "Lord Minto with characteristic short-sightedness did not realise the dangers of that 'honest swadeshi' which he so enthusiastically commended as a set off against the Boycott Movement in Bengal." At another place while speaking of the revolutionary propaganda he said, "Lord Minto tried various forms of repression to fight this political criminalism, ignoring the universal testimony of history that the impatient idealist, who so frequently turns a political criminal, cannot be controlled or conquered by physical threats or chastisement. The very attempt to do so canonises the criminal and adds strength to his cause. It happened before our eyes in Bengal during the present unrest. These repressive measures inevitably restrict the legitimate freedom of the many as a punishment for the criminality of a few. This is their greatest defect. The failure of the Police to trace the authors of a political crime is visited upon the people at large with various new acts and ordinances affecting their right of free speech, free organisation, and free movement. And these restrictive measures inevitably create fresh grounds of complaint against established authority, deepens existing discontent and confirms the conviction, which the revolutionary is so anxious to produce in the community, that there is a necessary and permanent conflict between what is good for the people and what is to the interest of the Government. True statesmanship would try, at all costs, to uproot this conviction where there is still room for such prevention. For it knows that it is here, in this conviction of an unreconciled and irreconcilable conflict of interest between the rulers and the ruled in any country, that all revolutions take their birth and that it is from this that all political crimination draws its vitality and strength. Lord Minto did not understand this truism. The Anglo-Indian officials and publicists, as a

As will be clear from other passages in Lord Morley's 'Recollections' Lord Minto was not satisfied with his simple repression of deporting people without trial but rather he wanted to have the Martial Law passed. And let us quote here the answer he received from the Duke of Devonshire in his letter of 14th April 1849. "I am sorry to hear of your mention of

Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough and sympathy enough, thoroughly to leave the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial Law which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law, would not snuff out murder-club in India any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin invincibles was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast. On the other hand, it would put at once an end to the policy of rallying the Moderates and would throw the game in the long run wholly into the hands of the Extremists. I say nothing of the effect of such a Proclamation upon public opinion, either in Parliament here or in other countries. It may be necessary for anything I know, someday or other, but to-day it would be neither more or less than a gigantic advertisement of national failure." The above at once discloses the unfortunateness of Lord Minto's demands upon the ex-Secretary of the State for India and his resoluteness not to accede to them for the very asking. India must thank her stars that she had a Secretary of the State like Lord Morley when she was being governed by a Viceroy like Lord Minto, or God knows to what calamitous ends his policies might have reduced us. It seems Lord Morley saved Lord Minto one great trouble—the falling off from the good opinions of the Indian Moderates. Was it not—Mr. Gokhale the Prince of the Moderates who from his place in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 29th March, 1909, just a few days more than a year before Lord Minto's asking for the passing of Martial Law (Feb. 3rd, 1910) said of this Viceroy: "My Lord, among the many great men who have held office as Governor-General in this country, there are three names of Bentinck, Canning and Ripon. I venture to predict, both as a student of Indian history and as one who has taken some part, however humble, in the public life of the country for the last twenty years, that it is in the company of these Viceroys, that your Lordship's name will go down to posterity in India." Judged in the light of Lord Morley's recent "Recollections" it becomes evident that credit for the enlarged councils for which Mr. Gokhale gave this eulogium to Lord Minto should go more to the former than to the latter. It is now plain that without the sound advice of his superior, Lord Minto would have spoiled the whole thing, and he would have had to meet with a worse fate than even Lord Curzon. It is to be regretted that Lord Minto's policy goes still without being checked in the least in India.

A virtual rule by the C. I. D.

It will be no exaggeration to say that Lord Minto's Government was virtually a Government by the C.I.D. Time shows that even Lord Morley was alarmed by the excessive powers that were given to this department of his Government. For has he not written in his own 'Recollections':—"I must confess to you that I am watching with the deepest concern and dismay the thundering sentences that are now being passed for sedition, etc., I read to-day that stone-throwers in Bombay are getting twelve months! This is really outrageous. The sentences on the two Tinnevely-Tuticorin men are wholly indefensible—one gets transportation for life, the other for ten years." I am to have the judgement by the next mail, and meanwhile.....thinks he has said enough when he tells me that "the learned judge was in no doubt as to criminality of the two men." This may have been all right, but such sentences! They cannot stand. I cannot on any terms *whatever consent to defend such monstrous things*. I do, therefore, urgently solicit your attention to these wrongs and follies. We must keep order, but *excess of severity* is not the

path to order. On the contrary, *it is the path to the bomb*. It will be insupportable if you, who are a sound whig and I, who am an "autoritaire" Radical (so they say) (?) go down to our graves (I first) as imitators of Eldon, Sidmouth, the six Acts and all the other men and policies which were both of us brought up to abhor." (*Italics are mine*).

But these pieces of sound friendly advice fell flat upon Lord Minto; for we know he never tried to moderate the powers of the C. I. D. When we remember that Indians of moderate opinions like the late Mr. Gokhale and Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and the government servants of the type of Dr. P. C. Ray and Sir Jagadis Bose were not left without being shadowed by the C. I. D. we can easily imagine the extent and degree of power that was invested with this department of the Government. This Czaric rule of the C. I. D. at last became so powerful and it wrought over the minds of the people so much that it shook the very foundations of public faith in Bengal and even the masses grew apathetic to these political crimes and of course, in this way added fuel to the fire of the political crimes in Bengal. At that time one of the greatest leaders of Bengal wrote in the following strain in this connection, "It (public apathy) is indeed more than mere disinclination. There is a distinct horror of the Police in the Indian Community. Neither as complainants nor as accused nor even as witnesses, do people receive any except the most irritating, if not occasionally also the most oppressive, treatment from the Indian Police. It is not really the dread of the terrorists upon which the ignorant and unimaginative Anglo-Indian scribe so constantly harp, that deter people from helping the police in the detection of political crimes, but it is rather the dread of the police themselves that prevent the public from offering whatever help it may possibly be in their power to render in the discovery of these criminals. Any increase, therefore, in the powers of the police or of the prerogatives of the magistracy, will not only fail to lead to greater detection or more effective prevention of political crimes, but will, on the contrary, simply increase the present antagonism of the people towards the police, and shake their confidence in the integrity of the law courts, which is now, as it has always been, the greatest bulwork of the British Government in India."

The enlarged councils.

The thing that gives Lord Minto a place among the Viceroys, whose names are remembered with gratitude and affection as the benefactors and friends—Bentinck, Canning and Ripon, was the enlarged councils of 1910. Lord Curzon dubbed the Royal Proclamation of 1858 as a pious outburst on the part of an emotional woman rather than as the solemn promises of a great sovereign. And a moderate Indian patriot has observed, "If there was one cause more than another which contributed to the general unrest which Lord Minto found existing on his arrival in this country, it was these flippant attempts to make light of the plighted word of a monarch, held in the profoundest veneration by all classes and creeds of the Indian people. By associating Indians with the actual governing body of the Empire, Lord Minto gave unmistakable proof of his loyal adherence to the Magna Charta of Indians, and restored, as by a touch, their confidence in the intention and in the integrity of British rule." Coming, as this reform did, after a series of repressive acts, especially affecting Bengal, it proved to the people of this province in particular and generally all India, as oil thrown on the troubled waters. And Lord Minto in the latter part of his régime or say just on the eve of his epoch-making reforms said, "In those early days I could not but realise all too soon that the political atmosphere was heavy and electric. I felt it; my colleagues felt

I believe everyone who thought at all felt it." Again his Excellency continued "As my knowledge of the state of public affairs increased, I became more and more aware of sullen and wide-spread dissatisfaction and discontent, a dissatisfaction shared by many a loyal subject of the Throne. There was a widespread political unrest, quite apart from revolutionary sedition. Some great change was evidently affecting the condition which British administrators had hitherto so successfully directed and controlled. Influences were at work which the Government of India could not shut its eyes to." All these assurances followed by practical work and action went a long way to mitigate the unrest to a large extent. But in the light of present events it becomes quite clear that Lord Morley's coaching did produce some effect upon Lord Minto's mind. For do not Viscount Morley's recent "Recollections" show that the Viceroy was very much in the control of the C. I. D. and bureaucracy in the first few years of his régime? It must be remembered that it was none else than Lord Minto who asked the right honourable gentleman not to apply the democratic and liberal policies of the West to the East which did not suit them. And Lord Morley answered as follows: "You speak of our having too much respect for the doctrines of the Western world quite unsuited to the East. I make bold to ask you what doctrines?.....And what are we in India for? Surely in order to implant, slowly, prudently, judiciously—those ideas of justice, law, humanity which are the foundations of our own civilisation."

We hope the above will be a right eye-opener to those biased Anglo-Indians who think repression and not concession should be the order of the day. It has been admitted by all thoughtful men that the Minto-Morley reforms, inspite of all their beneficial effect still leave much unaccomplished and this note was struck in the last farewell speech of Sir James Meston when his honour said, "We all admit its (Morley-Minto reform) advantages, but I think we equally admit that it is a machine that cannot run indefinitely. It has grave defects, and the days of its utility are numbered. It is accused of unreality and the accusation is not wholly unjust. It is a half-way house, in the opinion of many thinking men, to nowhere for even one of its distinguished originators denied stoutly that it was in any way a preparation for parliamentary institutions, and yet parliamentary institutions, are now the goal to which we are directing our steps."

Special electorate for Mahomedans.

This act of Lord Minto also did not find many supporters. If His Excellency would have not felt it necessary to explain in his Simla speech, the limits beyond which he had not contemplated the extension of the special electorate principle, matters would certainly have gone worse. The partition had created a sort of hatred between the Hindus of Western and the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal and this thoughtless action of Lord Minto, no doubt, threatened both the sections of the people, with the intensification of the situation. The Government of Sir Bamfylde Fuller had very much embittered the feelings of the uneducated Mahomedans of East Bengal against their Hindu brethren and this step of Lord Minto only seemed to add fuel to the fire. The Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu with a few noted persons went so far as to say that they would rather not have the reforms than have them with this innovation. It was on this scene of disunion, created by Lord Curzon and very much heightened by Lord Minto, Sir Andrew Fraser, Sir Edward Baker and Sir Bamfylde Fuller that the late Mr. Abdul Rasul, one of the greatest Bengali Mahomedan leaders, spoke "Bengal with a united population, though the Government has done much to disunite them—will withstand any bureaucratic attempts to subjugate body and mind and will successfully

resist any menaces or repressions. There is no denying that a cloud rests all over Bengal. It is a dark and heavy cloud and its darkness extends over the feeling of men in all parts of the country. But if we can only be united that cloud will vanish and we may yet have the happiness of leaving to our children the heritage of an honourable citizenship in a united and prosperous Bengal."

Lord Morley and his reforms.

The publication of the private letters of Lord Morley has thrown much new light upon the real situation in Bengal from 1905 to 1910. Before this publication we were labouring under a misapprehension that the ex-Secretary of State for India was the chief string-puller so far as unrest in Bengal was concerned. We had our own reasons for our belief. The first was that Lord Morley dittoed Lord Curzon's misrepresentation of the Queen's proclamation by his speeches in the House of Commons that British Indian Government would be a personal Government and India would never be worth deserving a democratic system of Government. Secondly he repeatedly and emphatically said that the Partition of Bengal was a 'settled fact' and could not be unsettled. This shows his respect for the man on the spot and it can be safely said that for this belief of his he cannot be blamed. But there is little doubt that this weakness or whatever one may call it has done incalculable harm to Bengal, nay to all India. This made him even incur the displeasure of the people of England, as will be clear from the letter of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace to Dr. Coomaraswamy. We reproduce it below from the Modern Review of July, 1908. This is what Dr. Wallace writes:—

"I had great hopes of John Morley, but I have lost them. He seems to want the moral courage to face a great responsibility, and to be cowed by the ruling classes into a dread of insurrection. He has not dared to strike out a new path and make his will *dominant* over the officialdom of India and the Indian office. His very first step should have been to send out to India, Englishmen whom he could trust, to bring him *true* information as to the actual condition of the workers of India, and the aspirations of the educated classes. He should also have given hope to the people of India. He should have declared his determination to *initiate* and carry out *continuously*, even if slowly, the long-promised grant of self-government in India; beginning, not at the top, which is absolutely worthless—a mere sop to officialdom—but at the bottom, in the restoration of the village communities, each with an educated native of the same race, as representative of the *protecting*—not the *oppressing*—power of the English rule. He should insist on the immediate reduction—even the temporary cessation—of the terrible taxation of the actual land-cultivators, the source of India's real wealth, yet the most miserable in the world under Indian officialdom. He should have insisted, *first of all*, on the holdings of these cultivators and of all their little household goods and agricultural implements being absolutely *inalienable*, thus saving them for ever from the clutches of the money-lender to whom *our* laws have delivered them. He should abolish the cruel salt-tax, and to the *actual cultivators* supply irrigation-water free, since it was our neglect that allowed the old tanks to be destroyed.

"All this would have been dreadfully irregular and high officialdom would have protested; but, with a Minister of *determined will* would have submitted. These measures would have been upheld by the English nation, would have by this time abolished *famine* and have reduced *plague*; and, combined with a greater sympathy with all religious and racial customs and feelings, would have ensured internal peace and confidence in English rule. Indians of all classes would then have felt that their King and Emperor was at last represented by a

Minister who sympathised with them, and whom they could trust." It will be admitted on all hands that the above lines of Dr. Wallace were written to prove or impress upon the Indian minds that Lord Morley was or is a personage from whom the above boons could be expected. And is there any man who now having read his 'Recollections' would doubt that the doctor's expectations were unreasonable or impracticable? Every man will only be grieved that Lord Morley having such extraordinary qualities could not make a full use of them. It seems that at the latter portion of his office as Secretary of the State for India his own better judgment, might be due to the reproaches of his own countrymen, was uppermost in his mind and he gave India enlarged councils, Indian members in the Viceroy's and Provincial Councils, and his India office, who, he himself and his Governors and Viceroys have admitted, have been greatly helpful to them in governing India in a better way and with a greater wisdom and knowledge than it was otherwise possible. Still, we distinctly remember the howl that was raised when the question of appointing Indians as members of the Executive Councils came to be heard in the houses of Parliament. It was the professional Anglo Indians who first raised the cry and the response was given from their cousins in the houses of Parliament. Lord Morley now can think that his reforms which even in the words of Sir James Meston only were a "half way house" could have long before the year 1910 been introduced and malaria, plague and poverty, which have now become the chronic ailments of Bengal, would long have been combated successfully, which our Indian member of the Bengal Executive Council Sir S. P. Sinha had the genius to invent by placing the charge of a few district boards on the shoulders of such worthy sons of Bengal, as Rai Bahadurs Jadu Nath Majumdar and Baikuntha Nath Sen. Can any one doubt that it was long over due? Still so keen is the love for white colour that more than once the sound pieces of advice of black men have been deliberately thrown into the cool shelter of neglect and indifference. We hope Lord Morley's "Recollections" would be the guide of those Englishmen who come to India as Collectors, Commissioners, Chief-Commissioners, Lieutenant-Governors, Governors and Viceroys and that they read every word of this invaluable book before they take up the reins of Indian administration.

(To be continued.)

THE Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :— A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

The Art of Henrik Ibsen.

By PROF. KUSHAL T. SHAH, M. A.

BJORNSON, the great rival of Ibsen, writing in America in 1860, said, "I think I have a pretty thorough acquaintance with the dramatic literature of the world; and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that Henrik Ibsen possesses more dramatic power than any other writer of our day." When this was written France alone had Victor Hugo and Dumas (Fils), Augier and Labiche, some of the greatest masters of the dramatic art of any age or any land, at the height of their powers. This alone is enough to give some idea of Ibsen's merits. And if to that we add the fact that the man who pays this tribute was himself no mean writer, and that the two were bitter rivals and estranged from one another, we can readily believe that Ibsen was the greatest Dramatist of the last century. In the mere art of conception and manipulation of the plot, in the technique of representation, in characterisation and dialogue, the work of the great wizard of Norway has much that is unique, much that is bewildering and unapproachable. Like all other writers of the first magnitude Ibsen has not yet been understood thoroughly; and there is a great controversy

as to the meaning of his message. Critics are divided as the poles about the question whether his is the cry of despair or a note of the sublimest hope. His views as regards the structure of society, as regards the rôle of woman and the relations between parents and children, as regards the destiny of the soul,—on all which subjects he has spoken with the brevity of the sage or rather of the oracle,—are apt to seem lost in mist and haze like his own native mountains. But every body is agreed that in weaving his fairy webs, in casting a spell over the reader and the audience, in making phantasy more real than reality itself, his is truly the wizard's wand which enchants all it touches.

Of the 20 plays or more that Ibsen has written in his fifty years of literary activity, some are romantic like *Peer Gynt* or *Brand*, some historical like the *Pretenders* or the *Emperor and Galilean*, some the pictures of contemporary society, seemingly of Norway but in reality of everywhere. Of his historical plays it may well be said that the only thing historic in them is the background and the names of the leading characters. But their character and even the episodes he transforms to suit himself. And the dominating ideas are certainly his own in all particulars. The central idea in an Ibsen play has not merely a didactic importance: it is responsible for the whole action of the play, which, in a characteristically Ibsen piece, takes place in the soul of the chief characters rather than on the stage. Thus the whole action of the *Pretenders* turns on the desire of Skule to assimilate the King-Thought. Ever since Hakon has declared to him that "Norway has been a kingdom; it shall become a people.....All shall be one hereafter and all shall feel and know that they are one. That is the task that God has laid on my shoulder, that is the work which now lies before the King of Norway. That lifework, Duke, I think you were best to leave untried, for truly it is beyond you." The worsted Pretender, though he says, "'Tis impossible Norway's Saga knows of no such thing" feels in his heart of hearts that Hakon must be the real King, since his was the King's Thought, which, try as he would, he was unable to appropriate. And the tragedy of the piece turns upon his vain attempts to assimilate this noble King's Thought.

It may be questioned how far it is permissible to a great writer to transcribe in a background of the past the ideas and beliefs, the problems and aspirations of the present. Ibsen freely avails himself of the poet's privilege to read history in his own way, and if that be not good history, why then, he would create so much—may we say History? But we have hardly the heart to blame him for not upholding all the traditions of historical drama as judged by the standard of *Henry IV* or *Wallenstein*, when we think of the masterpieces of dramatic art that he has placed before us. *Fru Inger* is his earliest piece of the kind as the *Pretenders* is the latest and most perfect. The former

piece has all the faults arising from inexperience and unripe judgment. It makes too much out of the time-worn device of confusion in identity for heightening the interest of the play,—for building up the plot of the drama. Its central theme,—a mother intrigues for the success of her long lost and unrecognised son and finding at the end that very son a victim of her intrigues—may have not unlikely been suggested by the story of Aedipus. But in spite of a hackneyed theme and a hackneyed technique this earliest attempt of Ibsen shows many indications of the master's hand. If there was no such character as the great tragic figure of Lady Inger—more tragic even than Lady Macbeth—; if there was nothing in the plot—which is as close as even the most bigoted sticker for dramatic proprieties could desire—; the dialogue of the piece alone would redeem it from being the commonplace production of an ordinary theatre-poet. That famous passage in which Nyls Lykke, the Danish knight, a far-famed gallant of the loosest faith and morals, and the betrayer of Lady Inger's elder daughter, is repulsed and at the same time loved with a passion which only Nyls could inspire and Elina could feel, shows the hand of the genius beyond the possibility of a mistake.

Nyls Lykke :—Again you are deep in thought, Elina Gyldenlove. Is it the fate of your fatherland that weighs upon you still?

Elina :—(shakes her head absently gazing straight in front of her) My Fatherland? I think not of my Fatherland.

Nyls Lykke :—Then 'tis the strife and misery of the time that disquiet you.

Elina :—The time?—I had forgotten it—You go to Denmark? Said you not so?

Nyls Lykke :—I go to Denmark.

Elina :—Can I look towards Denmark from this hall?

Nyls Lykke :—(points to the window on the left) Ay, from this window. Denmark lies there to the south.

Elina :—And is it far from here? More than a hundred leagues?

Nyls Lykke :—Much more. The sea lies between you and Denmark.

Elina :—(To herself) The sea? Thought has sea-gull's wings. The sea cannot stay it. (Goes out to the left).

Here is the birth of love in a virgin soul marked with all the brevity of a master. Ibsen makes a great stride forward in his next play of this kind, *The Vikings at Helgeland*. Here while retaining all the deftness for weaving an interesting plot, he yet rids himself of the stock devices of the French school. It is one of the earliest plays in which Ibsen displays his peculiar art. Here is a play, the greater part of the plot of which has to be gathered not from the action taking place on the stage but from the conversation of the leading characters. Not that the play is a mere psychological discussion. There is abundant action on the stage; but such action is the inevitable consequence of that which has preceded. The story of the piece may not have been

original, not invented; but its treatment is entirely Ibsen's. As Mr. Archer remarks: "The poet shows himself consummate (in this play) in his art of gradually lifting veil after veil from the past, and making each new discovery involve a more or less striking change in the relations of the persons on the stage. But it is not technically alone that the play is great. The whole second act is a superbly designed and modulated piece of drama; and, for pure nobility and pathos, the scene of Ornulf's return—entirely of the poet's own invention—is surely one of the greatest things in dramatic literature."

This, the beginning of the play at the moment of the catastrophe, and unveiling the past in the course of the drama by means of the dialogue, which is so closely interwoven in the structure of the play that it is nowhere an excrescence, and seldom dispensable, is the peculiarity of Ibsen's Dramas. If an enterprising writer were to compile short stories from his plays on the model of Lamb's tales from Shakespeare, he would have to begin not from the beginning of each play, but a long way before the opening of the curtain, if his tales are to be at all intelligible or interesting. In all his most famous social plays Ibsen invariably employs this retrospective method, and each time with greater charm. In one play this method gets the additional charm of the poet's ideas being visualised by the reader or the spectator by means of word pictures, descriptions of actual pictures drawn by one of the characters. The gradual lifting of the veil from the past life of Ellida Wangel, in *The Lady from the Sea*, by means of pictures planned by Lyngstrand which so strangely coincide with the events in the past life of Ellida, is the most original as it is the most beautiful piece of dramatic art.

Another characteristic feature of the Ibsen play, an inevitable consequence of this method, is that the stage-action takes place not on the stage itself but rather in the soul of the chief dramatis personæ. Hence the main interest of the Ibsen drama is psychological rather than spectacular. There is abundance of plot in every one of his plays save perhaps in *Little Eyolf*, though even that has a good story. Because there is plenty of plot, there is bound to be plenty of action and movement; but the way in which Ibsen handles his theme renders it inevitable that all this action should take place off the visible stage. Some of his pieces are frankly entirely psychological, like *The Lady from the Sea* or *Little Eyolf* or *John Gabriel Borkmann*, and in such plays it would be the reader rather than the spectator who would be more easily interested. But even in his social satires an Ibsen play would be incomplete if there was no psychological interest. And yet the Ibsen play is no problem play in the sense that a problem of modern social life be selected to be discussed by the characters and worked out in the plot. The problem, if one there is, of *A Doll's House* is not about the marriage relations of Helmer and Nora, nor of *The Ghosts*, the most powerful of Ibsen's

tragedies, about the relations of parents and children, but one connected with the development or disclosure of Nora's or Mrs. Alving's character.

These two peculiarities of Ibsen's art understood, it would be easy to see why an Ibsen play has been described as the play of catastrophe. As he begins almost at the end, the chief interest of his play is psychological; and consequently no one can say what would be the denouement. We go on reading to the end without once being able to forecast correctly the end. And because he knows human nature but too well he never allows "the miracle of miracles" to happen, though all along the reader or the spectator goes on hoping, like Nora in *The Doll's House*, almost against hope, that it would happen in the end.

At this stage we might discuss the question which has so sharply divided the critical world, whether or not Ibsen's plays are symbolic. Ibsen's certainly is not that conventional symbolism of poetry whose charm consists in its atmosphere of mystery and unreality. For, his work is intensely real, more real than reality itself. Nor is his quite that symbolism of types in which an Othello would stand for jealousy and a Macbeth for halting ambition. Ibsen has indeed employed this kind of aid to dramatic development, especially in his earlier works like *Catiline*. But this kind of symbolism succeeds best when the symbol is lost in reality. Ibsen's *Wild Duck* may be symbolic of imprisoned and suffering humanity or his *Dr. Stockmann* may be the type of rebellious youth. But every one of the persons in the *Wild Duck* or *An Enemy of the People* is a real living human being; and their reality is so intense that we forget that they are but types. We think of them as individuals first and last. It is difficult to say whether Ibsen has employed, at least consciously employed, that symbolism which has been defined by M. Emile Faguet as an ornament, as an additional interpreter of the author's thought, introduced by way of an explanation or a commentary or an ornament. When we recall to our mind such pieces as the *Master Builder* or *When We Dead Awaken*, it is difficult to assert that Ibsen's work is bereft of all such explanation or ornamentation, though it is quite conceivable that the explanation found out by a casual reader or an ornament hit upon by a superficial critic may not be the one intended by the master.

Dr. Jeannette Lee has put forth quite a novel idea of the symbol as employed by Ibsen. According to this critic the symbol of an Ibsen play "is some material object or event a part of the mechanism of the piece." This object is introduced early in the action; it is wrought more or less closely in the structure of the play and its last appearance is at the climax. "Such a symbol has a double bearing. It stands first for the chief character and secondly for the meaning of the play as a whole." Towards this object or event the ostensible action of the play moves and from that it recedes. According to this each of the ten plays—

beginning from *The Pillars of Society* and ending with *When We Dead Awaken*—has its symbol. Thus the symbol of *The Ghosts* is the hospital, built by Mrs. Alving in memory of Captain Alving and out of his money so that nothing tainted with his memory should go to her son; of *A Doll's House* the dance Tarantelle; of *Hedda Gabler* the pistol; of *The Pillars of Society* the ship; of *The Indian Girl* or *The Lady from The Sea* the open sea; etc. Sometimes as in *Hedda Gabler* there is a double symbol which is closely interwoven with the first. The test of excellence of an Ibsen piece according to this is the completeness with which the symbol is identified, so to say, with the main interest of the plot. It must reveal the character and explain the action in the soul of the principal personage. And its power to do this is its justification. If there is any other meaning in the apparently inconsequent and flippant Nora or in the hyper-aesthetic Hedda, if there is a ray of hope in the gloomy tragedy of *The Ghosts*, it will be understood only if we understand the symbol of the piece, and finally, Dr. Lee adds, the use of such symbolism was necessitated by the abandonment of the verse form of writing and adoption of prose. Ibsen himself wrote to Mr. Edmund Gosse, speaking of *The Emperor and Galilean*, "You are of opinion that the play ought to have been written in verse, and that it would have gained by this. Here I must differ from you. The play is, as you will have observed, conceived in the most realistic style. The illusion I wished to produce was that of reality. I wished to produce on the reader the impression that what he was reading was something that had really happened. If I had employed verse I would have counteracted my own intention, and prevented the accomplishment of the task I had set myself. The many ordinary insignificant characters whom I have intentionally introduced in the play would have become indistinct and indistinguishable from one another, if I had allowed all of them to speak in the same rhythmical measure." So in order to keep up the poetic excellence of his pieces Ibsen was obliged to adopt such a novel symbolism.

It detracts nothing from the greatness of Ibsen's art to accept this explanation. On the contrary to devise such objective symbols anew each time and to weave them so closely in the pieces, shows the very highest art. But it is difficult to find a distinct objective symbol in each of the plays beginning with *The Pillars of Society*—plays, that is which show that Ibsen had at last emancipated himself from the traditions of the Romanticists. In the earlier plays of this group when he deals with the individual as a social unit, as a type, we might easily find such symbolism but in plays which are character studies pure and simple and which begin with *Hedda Gabler* and include such pieces as *The Lady from the Sea* and *Little Eyolf*, it is difficult to find a symbolism of this description. Dr. Lee would say that where the symbol is not an object it is an act, as the act of climbing in *The Master Builder*. But that

would go against the conception of such symbolism, as an act cannot be introduced early in the play and kept up all through the play. The act of climbing to the top of the tower in *The Master Builder* is suggested in the latter part of the play and does not occur till the very end. Symbolism, it would be idle to deny, there is in *The Master Builder*. But it is the conventional symbolism of every day poetry.

The truth is that Ibsen's art lends itself easily to a variety of interpretation. There is a degree of truth perhaps in every one of these interpretations ; but only the master could say where is the whole truth and what is the secret of his art, as he has himself written in *When We Dead Awaken*,—a play full of autobiographic touches,—while Maia talks of Rubek's masterpiece.

Professor Rubek:—All the world knows nothing, understands nothing.

Maia:—Well at any rate it can divine something.

Rubek:—Something that isn't there at all, yes. Something that never was in my mind. Ah yes, that they can all go into ecstasies over (growling to himself). What is the good of working oneself to death for the mob and the masses for "all the world."

Maia:—Do you think it is better then—do you think it is worthy of you to do nothing at all but a portrait bust now and then ?

Rubek:—(With a sly smile) They are not exactly portrait busts that I turn out Maia.

Maia:—Yes indeed they are—for the last two or three years—ever since you finished your great group and got it out of the house.

Rubek:—All the same they are no mere portrait busts, I assure you.

Maia:—What are they, then ?

Rubek:—There is something equivocal, something cryptic, lurking in and behind these busts:—a secret something that the people themselves cannot see.

Maia:—Indeed ?

Rubek:—(Decisively) I alone can see it and it amuses me unspeakably. On the surface I give them the striking likeness as they call it, that they all stand and gape at in astonishment—(lowers his voice)—but at the bottom they are all respectable, pompous horse faces, and self-opinionated donkey-muzzles, and lop-eared, low browed dog-skulls, and fatted swine-snouts—and sometimes dull, brutal bull-fronts as well."

In other respects Ibsen's works follow the canons of dramatic art as laid down by the Greek masters. Like the Greeks Ibsen deals with subjects of present interest to his audience. In the unities of time and place also he follows scrupulously the Greek model. The whole act in every one of his plays is invariably given in one scene a practice followed also by the classic writers of India. In most cases the entire action of the play takes place in a single day. In one case at least,—in *John Gabriel Borkmann*,—Ibsen has performed the technical feat of compressing the entire action

of the play actually in less time than it takes in representation upon the stage,—a feat that is unique in the whole field of dramatic literature. The compactness of Ibsen's plots is marvellous; and his retrospective method is at its best when the gradual uplifting of the veil from the past has a definite, almost visible reaction on the soul of the individual upon the stage; and this in its turn, helps to make his dialogue sustained and interesting. In one respect Ibsen is better than his Greek masters. The part played by the chorus in Greek drama is played in the Ibsen drama by the leading characters themselves; the Greek chorus is redundant at its best or useful only for relating that which could not conveniently be brought on the stage. The relation of the past by the chief personages in an Ibsen piece lends itself to a more easy, a more complete blending with the plot of the play.

It would be impossible for a student of Ibsen who knows him only through translation to pronounce upon the style or the language of his plays. Those who are competent to judge have declared that whether he is writing in prose or verse Ibsen always shows himself to be a master of the Norse language. Viewing his artist's work as a whole—when we have admitted the defects of inexperience in some of his earlier pieces—due rather to the bad model he was following than to his own want of artistic insight or judgment;—when we find his attempt at analysing human motives here and there as of doubtful success—when we have submitted with resignation to the difficulty of finding his meaning in spite of the admirable perfection of his language—the score odd pieces that Ibsen has written are as original as they are full of emotion; as masterly in their construction as they are varied in setting; as perfect in plot development as they are subtle in meaning. The very fact that great students like Mr. Archer should have found but one solitary blemish in the whole of *The Pretenders*—the Ghost scene towards the end; or that critics like Brandes could fall upon such niceties in discussing *Hedda Gabler* as the probability of a man like Eilert Lovborg carrying the manuscript of his great work about himself—proclaims that Ibsen must be accepted as one of the greatest masters of dramatic art in all countries and of all ages.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S NATIONALISM.*

THE political views of that distinguished Bengali poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, have for the first time been given to the world in his recently published book, *Nationalism*. Coming from so acute an observer of men and manners, as the poet undoubtedly is, these views deserve to be carefully considered. One may decline to view Sir Rabindranath's observations from the same standpoint as those of a

* *Nationalism*.—By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., London, 1917. Price, £4 5s. 6d.

politician, but there can be no two opinions as to the desirability of a thoughtful perusal of these observations. The author has divided the book into three chapters,—‘Nationalism in the West,’ ‘Nationalism in Japan,’ and ‘Nationalism in India.’ The volume ends with an English rendering of a poem composed on the last day of the last century.

According to Sir Rabindranath, “a nation is that aspect which a whole population assumes when organised for a mechanical purpose. Society as such has no ulterior purpose. It is an end in itself. It is a spontaneous self-expression of man as a social being. It is a natural regulation of human relationship, so that men can develop ideals of life in co-operation with one another. It has also a political side, but this only for a special purpose. It is for self-preservation.” It would thus appear that Sir Rabindranath is not opposed to the nation—or by whatever name an organization of people living in one tract or country may be called—so long as it confines its warlike preparations to its own defence. He seems to be of opinion that one nation has no right to conquer or rule over another. That is degrading to both. It degenerates both the conqueror and the conquered. It is twice cursed. All thoughtful people will agree with Sir Rabindranath so far. In fact, on a careful consideration one finds that his observations apply more fully to the German conception of a nation. And it is against the German nation that the civilised world is fighting.

In one of his lectures Swami Vivekananda said : “The ignorant or savage races have much finer sensual faculties than the civilised races, and this is in fact one of the lessons we learn from history, that as a nation becomes civilised the nerve organisation becomes finer, and they become physically weaker. Civilise a savage race, and you will find the same thing; another barbarian race comes up and conquers them. It is nearly always the barbarian races that conquer.” Sir Rabindranath, on the other hand holds that it is the country of Nation that conquers the country of No-nation—evidently a politically speaking more civilised Nation conquering a less civilised, or uncivilised nation. In support of this view of his the author quotes from history. We doubt whether his premises are quite historical or his conclusions quite natural. We feel inclined to agree with Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar that the poet’s way of studying history and social problems are unhistorical. To condemn nationality, because he hates the German nation or has not much appreciation for the British people as a nation, is as if it were generalising from one particular fact, and laying down an important and far-reaching proposition. If the British do not come up to his conception of an ideal nation as defined by him, why should he ignore the American? Evidently it is possible to have a nation which has no territorial possessions. Even at present there are some nations answering to the above description.

Sir Rabindranath evidently forgets to refer to the British nation's ideal, and that is that any subject of the King of England is a British Citizen, possessing all the rights and privileges enjoyed by one living in the British Isles. That is a solemn declaration and it is on that that the Indian politician takes his stand. The British people, the Canadians and we Indians, are all equal subjects of His Majesty. Self-Government is the right of every British possession from the day it comes under the Union Jack. Does such a nation answer to the charges levelled against nations by the great poet of Bengal? We seriously question that. We would even venture to deny it. Sir Rabindranath has a "deep love and a great respect" for Englishmen. He says: "I know that these people love justice and freedom and hate lies. They are clean in their minds, frank in their manners, true in their friendships, in their behaviour they are honest and reliable." Every Indian public man has said the same thing and that was why the late Mr. Dadabhoj Naoroji refused to give way to despair even in his 82nd year after numerous failures and disappointments. In the following lines the author echoes the sentiments of the vast bulk of his countrymen:—

The portion of education allotted to us is so raggedly insufficient that it ought to outrage the sense of decency of a western humanity. We have seen in these countries how the people are encouraged and trained and given every facility to fit themselves for the great movements of commerce and industry spreading over the world, while in India the only assistance we get is merely to be jeered at by the nation for lagging behind. While depriving us of our opportunities and reducing our education to the minimum required for conducting a foreign Government, this nation pacifies its conscience by calling us names, by sedulously giving currency to the arrogant cynicism that the East is East and the West is West and never the twain shall meet. If we must believe our schoolmaster in his taunt that after nearly two centuries of his tutelage India not only remains unfit for self-government, but unable to display originality in her intellectual attainments, must we ascribe it to something in the nature of Western culture and our inherent incapacity to receive it or to the judicious niggardliness of the nation that has taken upon itself the whiteman's burden of civilising the East!

Let those who persist in decrying Indian aspirations ponder over these words. They emanate not from the professional agitator or the Congress politician. They are the words of an acute observer who has all along held himself aloof from political movements of any kind and who is more or less a recluse. It is a significant fact that even such a man could not help delivering his indictment so forcefully.

Sir Rabindranath is equally unsparing in his condemnation of his countrymen. He says: "We cut a poor figure when we are trying to be political, simply because we have not yet been finally able to accomplish what was set before us by our providence." The poet, however, does not state how 'what was set before us' can be accomplished till Indians become political. In the law of nature there are no air-tight compartments.

known as social evolution and political evolution. Social reforms and political developments go side by side. If we are to wait for commencing political reform till our society has come up to the ideal, or till social reforms have been completely introduced, we fear we shall have to wait till the Day of Judgment. Nor can the reverse be true. Politically as well as socially Indians require to march onward, and we have no doubt their attempts in both the directions are as earnest and serious as these should be. Sir Rabindranath is not quite correct when he says: "For all our miseries and shortcomings, we hold responsible the historical surprises that burst upon us from outside." We do not know if that view has ever been enunciated in any responsible quarter. Every historian, Indian or foreigner, has ascribed the downfall of India to the gradual degeneracy of its people. The miseries of Indian are of its own making, and it would be highly unfair to apportion the blame to any foreign power, either of the Christian or the Mahomedan faith. This fact has been explicitly acknowledged by all those who have written about the past history of this country. Sir Rabindranath refers to the existing "social slavery" in India. We are no advocates of slavery of any denomination but we feel constrained to refer the poet to the Spartans. Who will not be willing to pay his tribute of applause to the memory of Leonidas, who fell nobly for his country in the face of his foe? But if we follow him to his home and we are confounded with the reflection that the same Spartan heroism to which he sacrificed himself at Thermopylæ, would have led him to tear his own child, if it had happened to be a sickly babe, from the bosom of its mother, and carry it out to be eaten by the wolves. We feel a glow of admiration at the heroism displayed at Marathon by the ten thousand champions of invaded Greece; but we cannot forget that the tenth part of the number were slaves, unchained from the workshops and door-posts of their masters, to go and fight the battles of freedom. But if those people were fit to manage their own affairs, why should the countrymen of the great poet be condemned by him for demanding self-government? On the whole, the book is well worth a perusal.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Recent Literature of Mythology and Folklore.

The Folk-Element in Hindu Culture. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A. (Longmans Green & Co., Bombay and London) 1917.

Jataka Tales. Selected and Edited by H. T. Francis, M.A., and E. J. Thomas, M. A., (Cambridge University Press Warehouse, London) 1917.

The Book of the Epic. By H. A. Guerber, (The Gresham Publishing Co., London) 1917.

The Romance of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table. By Alfred W. Pollard. Illustrated by Arthur Rackham, (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London) 1917.

The Jesus Problem. By the Rt. Hon'ble J. M. Robertson, M. P., (Watts & Co., 17 Johnstone's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1917.

PROFESSOR Benoy Kumar Sarkar is well-known to the readers of the *Hindustan Review* as a scholar, author and valued contributor. His latest treatise, *Folk-Element in Hindu Culture*, is an instructive contribution to the literature of Folklore, though it does not easily lend itself to a short review by reason of its composite contents, and the abstruseness of the subject. It is nonetheless a valuable addition to our knowledge of the inter-relation of the higher and lower religious cults of the Middle Ages and modern times. It brings into clear relief how religious cults are drawn from a mixture of old culture—forms indistinguishably mingled with popular rites. The book, while appealing to the specialist, should find a large circulation amongst general readers for its luminous survey of popular festivals in Bengal. Its chief value lies in its rendering accessible a large amount of first-hand material presenting a study of popular Indian religion which has had its parallels in other countries—Egypt, Babylonia to a lesser degree, and especially in Greece. It breaks ground in an area where the phenomena are so many and so involved as to be bewildering. The accounts of the various celebrations add greatly to the general knowledge of Hindu worship. The result is of especial importance for those who would know the heart of "Tantric" cults. All this is of great interest to the specialist, and for him has unique value. Altogether, Professor Sarkar is to be sincerely congratulated on this notable work.

Readers in India and especially students of Buddhism will heartily welcome the *Jataka Tales*, selected and edited with Introduction and notes by Messrs. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas. The *Jatakas* or stories of the Buddha's former births were translated from the Pali by various hands and published by the Cambridge University Press in six volumes, between 1895 and 1907, under the editorship of the late Professor E. B. Cowell. The selection under notice has been made with a view to bring together in one compact volume the stories of most interest both intrinsically and from the standpoint of the student of Folklore. The value of the present collection is materially enhanced by reason of the photographs expressly taken for the illustrations of the *Jatakas* on the carvings of the Bharhut stupa, and also the learned and luminous Introduction with which the editors have enriched the volume. *Jataka Tales* should therefore, as brought together in the volume under consideration, find a large circulation both in the East and the West.

Till the publication of Mr. H. A. Guerber's *Book of the Epic* there was no text-book in English presenting a sketch of the great epics of

the world. This desideratum is now fortunately removed by Mr. Guerber's excellent sketch of the epical literature of the world. The main object of the volume is to outline clearly and briefly, for the use of young students and the busy general reader, the principal examples of these time-honoured stories. There are twenty-seven examples from different countries. The translation gives a sufficient outline of the story in each case for the purpose in view. It is a publication which should make very wide appeal. The Greek epics "The Iliad" and "The Odyssey," open the volume, followed by the Latin epic, "The Aeneid." France is represented by "The Song of Roland" and "Aucassin and Nicolette;" Spain by "The Cid;" Portugal by "The Lusiad" and Italy by "The Divine Comedy," "The Orlandos" and "Jerusalem Delivered." Six epics represent the contribution of the British Isles, *viz.*, "Beowulf," "The Arthurian Cycle," "Robin Hood," "The Faerie Queene," "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained." The two Indian epics "The Ramayana" and "The Mahabharata" are also sketched in this volume, also the Persian epic, "The Shah Nameh." These are but a few of the treasures which have been brought into a single volume, which should appeal alike to students of literature and old-world romantic stories.

Mr. Alfred Pollard's abridgment of the *Romance of King Arthur*—from Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*—illustrated by Mr. Arthur Rackham is a notable success. Though it is a daring experiment to tamper with the text of Malory, Mr. Pollard has been careful, in clearing away some of the repetitions, to do as little harm as possible to the matter that remains, and claims credit, quite reasonably, for having introduced "not more than a hundred words" of his own. But in a "Rackham book," of course, the illustrations are the thing, and in these the artist is seen quite at his best. There is much in this latest work that has the effect of novelty, and shows even a greater versatility than many of his admirers had found in him before. There is a fine battle-picture in "How Arthur drew his sword Excalibur for the first time;" the slaying of Sir Peris de Forest Savage by Sir Lancelot, and Lancelot's fight with "a fiendly dragon" are full of life and movement. Tristram and Isoud drinking the love-drink is a fine piece of colour work; and there are many other colour-plates almost as admirable, while the line drawings are as full of grace as decorative skill.

The Rt. Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Robertson is a voluminous writer on what may be called the mythology of Christianity. Following up his book of last year, *The Historical Jesus: A Survey of Positions*, in which he claimed to show the failure of all the attempts to find a historical basis for the Gospels, Mr. Robertson, in his new volume, *The Jesus Problem*, restates, in a compendious way, the mythical theory which he began to construct many years ago. The result is, he believes, a newly colligated view of the entire theory which will facilitate alike revision and criticism. It is impossible for us in the course of a brief notice to go into the

details of the subject but it goes without saying that whether one agrees with him or not, none can rise from a perusal of Mr. Robertson's works on Christianity without having his mental horizon appreciably widened. His books are valuable aids to the dissemination of rationalistic ideas in the West.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.

MAJOR E. R. Tandy's *India's Opportunity* (Caledonian Printing Co., Ltd., Calcutta) is a timely and useful publication and it deserves careful attention at the hand of the Government and the leaders of Indian public opinion. It is in the main, a strong plea for decentralisation on a large scale. The author proposes that India be sub-divided into a number of Presidencies, each under a Governor-General. He is of opinion that the result of such a policy on the Central Government would be "to raise it above the arena of ordinary internal controversies, so as to enable it to concentrate on the larger questions of Imperial and Foreign Policy," and suggests that the Viceroy might be a member of the Royal Family. The existing Provinces or States are to be undisturbed except for their being grouped in their appropriate Presidency. The novelty of Major Tandy's suggestions will doubtless attract attention. Whether his arguments, however, will carry conviction is another matter. But in any view of the matter an earnest plea like that put forward by the author can not be lightly brushed aside and we would invite the attention of our readers to a careful perusal of Major Tandy's book, which is certainly thought-provoking.

It is an excellent text-book that Professor John Todd—who is well-known in India—has produced in the *Mechanism of Exchange* (Oxford University Press, London and Bombay) on the subjects of Currency, Banking and Trade in Peace and in War. It deals clearly and comprehensively with every branch of the subject and is a model for an almost ideal manual of a rather abstruse subject. There is nothing in it to distract or confuse the reader's attention as reference to purely technical subjects is studiously avoided. Another noticeable feature is that its text is singularly free from statistics, which have been brought together in appendices in the form of systematized statements of up-to-date figures derived from reliable sources. We have much pleasure in recommending Professor Todd's book to students of Economics in Indian Universities.

Mr. E. R. Nariman's *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature* (D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay) is a valuable contribution to oriental studies. It comprises a translation from the Russian of M. Inostranzev, with supplementary appendices from Arabic sources on topics subsidiary to those dealt with in the body of the work. The chief object of the work is to show that much of Arab culture and a great deal that is valuable in Arabic literature were really derived from Persian sources. This view has already found expression in the writings of British, American and Continental scholars but in the volume under notice it is worked out systematically with a wealth of learning and critical acumen truly worthy of appreciation. We look forward with interest to the publication of the second part of Mr. Nariman's treatise.

Mr. Michael West's *Education: Selective, Specific, Compensatory* (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay) is decidedly a piquant story of educational problems in Bengal. It is not possible in the course of a short note to give any adequate idea

of its piquancy. Suffice it to say that few, if any criticisms of the Indian educational system have been so searching as those offered by Mr. West. Although at places the picture may be overdrawn, there can be no doubt that, on the whole, Mr. West's estimate of the limitation of our educational system is correct and educational reformers may do worse than make a careful study of the author's suggestions. In spite of its occasional uncouthness of phraseology the book is thought-stimulating to a degree, and we have pleasure in inviting attention to it.

The University Press, Cambridge, have inaugurated yet another series of geographical literature, called "Cambridge Travel Books," the first volume of which is *The Discovery of America*. Mr. P. F. Alexander has brought together in it extracts from voyages and travels to illustrate the discovery of America between 1492 and 1584. As the books laid under contribution are not accessible to the general reader, the series when completed will be a highly useful one to those interested in the history of geographical discovery and exploration. The volume under notice deals with the voyages of Columbus, Cartier, Gilbert and Amadas and Barlow and is very interesting reading. We look forward with interest to the other volumes of the series.

In his *Rambles in Behar* (Express Office, Bankipore) Mr. Ramgopal Singh Chowdhari, B. L., breaks new ground so far as literature dealing with Behar is concerned. This in itself is no mean service that the author has rendered to his native province. The book covers a large ground and the writer's sketches of the various scenes and sites are distinctly interesting. The information gathered from books is accurate, but there is very little of the writer's own impressions, which is regrettable. The book is planned like a gazetteer rather than a work of travel. The Hon'ble Mr. E. H. Walsh—Member of the Behar and Orissa Board of Revenue—contributes an instructive "foreword." The book is well-illustrated and its get-up is neat. Altogether it is a useful addition to Anglo-Beharee literature.

Swami Sri Ananda Acharya calls his *Brahmadarsanam* or *Intuition of the Absolute* "An Introduction to the Study of Hindu Philosophy." But there are excellent books on the subject and though the lectures delivered at Christiana in 1915—which form the text of the book—might have served a useful purpose in popularising Indian philosophy, a reprint of them was hardly called for. A careful perusal of the book has satisfied us that the author is not qualified for the task he has undertaken either by knowledge or the right temperament of an expounder. The result is a work defective in many respects. It may, however, be useful to those who have no access to better books on the subject.

This month it is Messrs. Ganesh & Co., of Madras, who are the first in the field of Indian political literature with collections of the speeches and writings of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah. Mr. Tilak is one of the most virile forces in the struggle for responsible Government for India and his utterances, therefore, deserve attention at the hands of friends and opponents alike. To the collection of Mr. Jinnah's speeches, Mrs. Naidu contributes a biographical appreciation and the Hon'ble the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad a "foreword." Both volumes will be useful to Indian publicists.

Mr. John Adam's *Student's Guide* (University of London Press, Warwick Square, London, E. C.) is a new version, so to say, of the classical Tod's *Student's Manual*. It deals lucidly but comprehensively with manipulation of memory, nature of study and thinking, mode of study, reading, text-books and reference, listening and note-making, constructive study in translation and essay-writing

and examinations. Mr. Adams writes with knowledge and experience and his book ought to prove useful to students.

Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have added to their "Biographies of Eminent Indians Series" three new up-to-date sketches of Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer and Mr. J. N. Tata. These give detailed accounts of their life and services to the country in their respective ways and contain striking passages carefully selected from their writings and speeches. Messrs. Natesan & Co., have also brought out new and revised editions of their well known sketches of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Lajpat Rai.

The first edition of Mr. P. C. Wren's *Direct Teaching of English in Indian Schools* was published in 1911 and a new edition of it has just been issued (Longmans, Green & Co., Bombay). The thesis of the book that living languages should be taught in a natural manner, through speech, and not through grammar and translation, is exceedingly well worked out and a large circulation of the book amongst professors, teachers and educationists ought to lead to a great improvement in the teaching of English in our schools.

As a companion to his *Vedic Grammar for Students* Professor A. A. Macdonall has brought out *A Vedic Reader for Students* (Oxford University Press, London and Bombay) which will be exceedingly useful to those for whom it is intended. It contains thirty hymns of the Rig Vedas in the original Samhita and Pada texts, with transliteration, translation, explanatory notes, vocabulary and an instructive Introduction. Altogether a capital text-book.

The eighteenth volume of Mr. John Buchan's *Nelson's History of the War* (T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London and Bombay) extends from the German overtures of peace to the American Declaration of War. It fully sustains the high reputation it has won as one of the best and most well-written histories of the great struggle for freedom waged by the Allies against the Central Powers of Europe.

We cordially welcome to the ranks of well-conducted Indo-English weeklies, the *Servant of India* of Poona, which has been started as the organ of Mr. Gokhale's Servants of India Society. It is ably edited by that experienced publicist—the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. We wish it every success.

Messrs. R. Thirumalai & Co. 114 (Coral Merchant Street, Madras) have brought out *Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak*—delivered from 1889 to 1918—with a 'foreward' by the Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde. It is well-edited and neatly got-up. Mr. Khaparde has written the 'foreword' in regular "Khapardian" style.

Heroes of the Hour (Ganesh & Co., Madras) comprises well-written and spirited sketches of Dr. Sir Subrahmanya Aiyar, and Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi. It should widely appeal to Indian youth, for whom evidently it is mainly intended. At the same time it will prove instructive to Indian politicians.

Editorial Comments On Some Current Topics.

(A) The German Menace to India and Our Duty. (B) The Beginning of Sir Harcourt Butler's Administration. (C) Administration of Criminal Justice in the Province of Agra. (D) Relations between the Bench and the Bar in India. (E) Cancellation of Passports of the Home Rule Deputation. (F) The Last Session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

AT last we have reached the most critical stage in the great world-war—the stage when things are likely to be finally decided. It is now clear that the Germans have staked all on the great offensive which they have launched against the Allied forces on the western front. Their preparations for it have been on an immeasurably grand scale, while the collapse of Russia and Roumania has helped materially the freak of Fortune on their side and enabled them to put into requisition forces and resources which it would have been otherwise impossible for them to have done. To meet successfully such heavy odds has required a more than ordinary counter-move on the part of the Allies, and it must be said to their credit by all impartial critics that they have offered such a vigorous resistance to the Germans as to have given them a considerable set-back. The issues are still undetermined and they will continue to be so for some time to come, but if every Indian subject of the British Crown will do all that is expected of him at this critical juncture in the history of civilization—for the results of the war, if adverse to the Allies, will materially affect it and its future development on lines of progress and freedom—the German Menace to non-German humanity will, in all probability, be laid by the heels. That the German Menace is no dim, distant vision but may before long become a stern reality to Indians will be quite clear to our readers from a perusal of the telegrams that have recently passed between the British Prime Minister and the Viceroy of India, which we reproduce below:—Wired Mr. Lloyd George:—“At this time when the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny not only over all Europe, but over Asia as well, has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies, assisted by their Allies, the attempt of the enemy in the West is being checked.

But if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." To which the Viceroy sent the following reply:—"Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince. India, anxious yet confident, realises to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict, and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the princes and the people's leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy, and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands." These stirring communications will find an enthusiastic response in Indian hearts. That if the war took a favourable turn for Germany—as it has now done in Russia—the Kaiser would cast long-lingering looks on India and other Asiatic countries, has long been suspected and of late the conviction grew so certain as to find expression in the latest utterance on the subject of President Wilson. This is what the Chief Magistrate of the greatest American Republic said about the aims of Germany in seeking to enlarge its political domination:—"Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all free ambitious nations of the Balkan peninsula, all lands which Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and to build upon that dominion an empire of force, upon which they fancy they can erect an empire of gain and commercial supremacy, an empire as hostile to America as to Europe which it will overawe, an empire which will master Persia, India and the peoples of the Far East." There is nothing surprising in all this or in the significant declaration by Lord Chelmsford of "the grave danger which...now threatens to move eastwards." All that His Excellency has said in his reply to Mr. Lloyd George is

perfectly true. The innate loyalty of our people to the Person and Throne of their King-Emperor and the vivid realization by them of the great advantages they have derived under British rule in the matter of law and order and social, moral and political progress, will make them cheerfully bear the additional strain created by the new situation. That India has done a great deal already is acknowledged by all impartial critics, but there can be no doubt that our people will rise equal to the stirring call of duty sounded by the British Prime Minister and do what may be in their power "to safeguard the soil of their motherland."

II.

His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler has begun his administration as was expected of him—with considerable tact and urbanity—and the impression produced by him on the public in Agra and Oudh has been so far altogether a favourable one. Sir Harcourt did not require "to know the ropes" and, though it may savour of oriental hyperbole to say that what His Honour does not know of these provinces is not worth knowing, there can be no gainsaying that his knowledge of the social and economic conditions of our people is profound and accurate. He will have probably to adapt himself, to some extent, to the new political environment which has come into existence during the last ten years of his absence from amongst us, but we have no doubt that he will be able to adjust himself to his surroundings with credit to himself and advantage to the people whose destinies he has been called upon to wield. He has already made some interesting speeches in and outside the Provincial Legislative Council. Perhaps the most noteworthy have been those delivered at Lucknow. Replying there to the address of the Municipal Board, His Honour said:—"You observe that I once referred to Lucknow as my Indian home. My Indian home it still is even as when I left you ten years ago. For ten years I have been absent from you, but you have not been absent from my thoughts. During the later part of the time Burma did her best to console me for my absence. That great, fair and flourishing province, with a future before it such as no province in India has, received me with a kindness that I have experienced nowhere outside Lucknow. My eyes will often turn in gratitude and longing to the land of silk and sunshine where I spent two happy years among truly kind friends. But now I have come back to the city of gardens and

palaces, the rock whence I was hewn, and I am settling down once more in your midst. I find that my affection for Lucknow is as evergreen as Lucknow herself. I feel once more the spell of her subtle charm. You remember what Mathew Arnold said of Oxford. Often have his pleading and plangent words come back to me as I cross the iron bridge over the Gunti and gaze in the evening light at the distant domes and towers and minarets of Lucknow. It has always been my hope that I should live to see a University come into being here." Again, in replying to the deputation of the organizers of the Shia College, His Honour re-echoed his hope of founding a University at Lucknow. Said Sir Harcourt:—"It requires no special provision to see that the day is not far distant when the question of a University for Oudh will arise and it behoves you to see that your College will be such that it can take its place worthily in any University that may be established. In this connection too it is well to remember that your College buildings should be architecturally worthy of their surroundings and should in this respect not fear comparison with any other college in Lucknow." In regard to the proposal to make Lucknow the seat of a University there can be no two opinions, for the capital of Oudh in name, but the capital of Agra and Oudh *in fact*, has ample educational resources which may well be moulded into a University, and we earnestly hope that, in spite of the very anxious and stringent times we are passing through, it will fall to the lot of Sir Harcourt to inaugurate the Lucknow University before he lays down the reins of office. As for other matters connected with Lucknow we find that His Honour has already appointed a "mixed committee" of Indians and Europeans, non-officials and officials, to improve and beautify his "Indian home." Well may Allahabad—the nominal capital of Agra and Oudh but in reality neither of the one nor of the other—feel jealous, at any rate considerably uneasy, and greatly perturbed. This feeling found expression in the observations of the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani at the last meeting of the session of the Council just closed and in trying to soothe the ruffled susceptibilities of the Hon'ble Member, His Honour spoke as follows:—"I may tell the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who seems to feel that Allahabad is a little neglected, that I am very far from having any feeling other than warmth for Allahabad which was my first station in India." We are thankful

to Sir Harcourt for the assurance, though we do not know whether it has satisfied the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani. Perhaps not. And if not who can blame him. For mark the circumlocution employed by His Honour in speaking of Allahabad. It is "very far from.....any feeling other than warmth," while Lucknow is his "Indian home," the "affection" for which, is "as evergreen as Lucknow itself." The Hon'ble member who so worthily represents in the Local Legislative Council the interests of His Honour's "first station in India," may well have his qualms in spite of Sir Harcourt's assurance. The fact of the matter is that Allahabad has for these many years badly needed an administrator who will regard it as his "Indian home," and who will convert this holy city into a healthy, sanitary, and clean abode for the thousands and hundreds of thousands who are constantly visiting it on pilgrimage. Till that time arrives, Sir Harcourt's "first station in India" will remain perhaps "last" in even necessary improvements.

III.

Candour is commendable—even judicial candour—but it is subject to the usual limitation of all virtues that when carried to excess it becomes a vice. Even the candid friend is not always appreciated—may be due to the perversity of human nature. But a candid Judge is yet too premature for the world as it is. Traditions of ages and judicial decorum have ingrained in the public mind the view that utterances delivered from the Bench should be characterized with dignity and restraint and none can depart from this settled practice without drawing on himself the just censure of the public. We have been led into these reflections and observations on reading in the *Leader* that Mr. F. D. Simpson, I. C. S., Sessions Judge of Allahabad, delivered judgment on March 18th in criminal sessions trial No. 3 of 1918, King-Emperor v. Surendranath Mukerji, in the course of which he indulged in the following observations on the members of the Bengali community:—"No doubt witnesses of respectable appearance—some of them in black coats with collars and ties—have appeared and have sworn to the facts alleged. But the accused is a Bengali Brahman. The Bengalis "in partibus infidelium" hold very closely together. No Mukerji, Chatterji or Banerji will ever lack support in Allahabad. The defence witnesses are three Mukerjis, a Chatterji and a Dutt—all Bengalis." Our esteem-

ed contemporary of the *Leader*—which is a vigilant guardian of public interests—is naturally indignant at Mr. Simpson's conduct and protests "against this judicial flippancy and bad manners" in the following scathing terms:—"A judge's mind must be peculiarly constituted when he thinks that his judgment derives weight from such irrelevant—we had almost said impertinent—trash introduced into it without any necessity whatsoever. Bias against a community or an individual is incompatible with a judicial mind, and the accused has at least as much reason to complain of it as the maligned community. We do think that the High Court as well as the local Government should let Mr. Simpson know what they think of his irresponsible digression." It would be noticed that our contemporary appeals both to the Local Government and the Allahabad High Court to set Mr. Simpson right. We whole-heartedly associate ourselves with our contemporary's protest and its appeal, though we are not quite sure that the matter is one which can be brought within the purview of the Local Government's jurisdiction. As presumably there was a conviction, there will be an appeal to the High Court and it will be the duty of the appellant's counsel to bring the matter to the notice of the judges and to invite their attention to Mr. Simpson's unjudicial frame of mind which has resulted in the very injudicious observations he has been guilty of perpetrating. We feel sure that their lordships before whom the appeal will be placed for hearing will direct that the offensive passage be expunged, provided the appellant's counsel does his duty as he should. But if he fails to rise equal to the occasion and lets judgment go by default, it will be he who will be to blame. Intimately in touch as we may claim to be with the administration of justice in the Province of Agra, we are not unaware of the fact that there exists throughout the province a very considerable sense of dissatisfaction—bordering almost on discontent—with criminal justice as it is administered by the District Courts, even—as in the present case—under the very nose of the High Court, and it is taken for granted that it is due to the indifference of the latter tribunal. It is not our business to defend the learned judges of the local High Court, but if there be any foundation for the popular view, we are confident it is mainly due to the fact that the "leaders" in the Allahabad Court have long since

regarded it as *infra dig* to take up criminal cases. Revelling in "civil" briefs, they have let criminal practice fall into derision, with the inevitable result which the public wrongly attribute to His Majesty's Judges. It seems to be forgotten by the average critic that judges are after all men and it is the fear of being pulled up by a strong and independent Bar that makes them vigilant and alert in the discharge of their duties. If there has been, on the whole, profound satisfaction with the administration of criminal justice in Bengal, Behar and Orissa and Assam, it is because the stalwarts of the Calcutta Bar have exercised through their advocacy a potent influence on the minds of the judges. William Jackson and Manomohan Ghose—to mention but two—have had no little share in bringing about the desired result. Now, the Allahabad Bar has been singularly barren of great and virile personalities in criminal practice and it is, in our opinion, mainly to this, and not to anything in our judges, that can be traced the want of close supervision over the working of our mofussil courts. Things will improve with a better appreciation by the "leaders" of the Bar of the value of criminal practice as a source of public good.

IV.

What is sarcastically called "the Vakil Raj" is *bête noir* to the officials in this country, with this difference that whereas the judicial officers, as a rule, make an attempt to pull on with it as a necessary evil to be put up with as a piece of ill-luck ordained by Providence, the executive officials frankly jib at it and not unoften kick against the pricks. Even a cursory newspaper reader lights pretty frequently upon reports of unseemly squabbles in which the executive official is found to betray his deep-rooted prejudice—we had said animus—against the members of the Bar. This infection has, it seems, now fairly spread to the outlying province of Burma, as would appear from the following communication of the Rangoon correspondent of the *Times of India*:—"A certain headquarters magistrate, who is not wanting in mental acumen and the power of expressing himself in vigorous English, has learned that it is not always safe to say what everybody thinks or to write what everybody says. He has dared to criticize in caustic language the methods of certain members of the legal profession. 'The defence' so runs a passage from one of his judgments, 'is the usual readymade collection of perjury with which my friends of the Bar see fit

to beguile the tedium of my afternoons in court. It would be unkind to suggest that one case lost may beget a further brief on appeal.' A gem from another judgment states: 'But he (the advocate) has pocketed his fee, which is after all the great thing.' A learned profession could not be expected to take this sort of thing lying down, and the local Bar and Advocates' Associations, the latter consisting chiefly of third grade pleaders, at a joint meeting resolved to boycott the magistrate's court until he apologized for his strictures. A public servant has no choice in such a case and the *amende honorable* was duly offered and accepted. But I for one should not greatly blame the magistrate if he found secret satisfaction and consolation in the Latin proverb *Litera scripta manet*." The Anglo-Indian scribe who writes to the Bombay paper no doubt would be glad if there had been no *amende honorable* either by the particular Magistrate in Burma or any other, for the matter of that, and he may affect to believe that the very *undeserved* strictures indulged in by the Rangoon official are but "what everybody thinks or what everybody says." There is no limit to human folly or perversity and we shall not quarrel with the *Times of India's* correspondent for his views about the Bar any more than surrender to him our opinion, based on more than a quarter of a century's daily experience of the magistracy and the judiciary in this country. What is of importance, however, is that such thou-art-that recriminations do no good to anyone and seriously interfere with the administration of justice. Take but another instance coming from Burma to which parallels can easily be found in any other province. It appears that a boycott arising out of alleged grievances cherished by the local bar against the township judge of Thaton has caused the practical suspension of business in the township court for the past seven months. A request that the judge should be transferred was made to the local Government through the sessions judge and supported by statements in writing submitted by every member of the local bar. On enquiry the local Government decided that no action should be taken, but the Bar Association remains dissatisfied and the deadlock continues. This is not the first instance in which the administration of justice has been similarly blocked, though there has been no case of equal importance in Burma in the last dozen years or more. If a sound argument may be based on previous precedents, it is more than doubtful whether

any satisfactory solution of the present difficulty will be found, unless and until the officer in question is transferred, but we fear that is too much to expect from the Government of Sir Reginald Craddock. We can but hope that the Government of India will bring their influence to bear upon the Burma as well as the other Local Governments so as to induce them to pay especial attention to smooth working between the Bench and the Bar, without which judicial administration is bound to be clogged with deadlocks.

V.

Whatever the difference in opinion as to the advisability of sending to England a Home Rule Deputation at the present juncture, there can be none as to the unwisdom of the Home Government in cancelling their passports. Even Anglo-Indian papers, such as do not deem it to be their duty to be constantly burning incense at the official altar, have taken the view that the action of the Home Government—who alone seem to be responsible for the order—is regrettable and cannot be commended. That it should have evoked strenuous and even more or less violent protests in Home Rule circles need not, under these circumstances, cause any surprise. The following telegram sent by Dr. Sir Subramania Iyer, Mrs. Besant and others to the Prime Minister sums up the case from the point of view of the Home Rulers:—The people of India have learnt with pain and indignation of the action of the English Government in cancelling the passports of the Home Rule Deputation under the leadership of Mr. Tilak. That deputation was intended to put before the British public the claims of India to self-government and was thus a necessary corollary to the visit of Mr. Montagu to this country. It was also intended to expose the shameful falsehoods circulated by Lord Sydenham and his followers. It is unjust while allowing Indians to be blackmailed to prevent them from defending themselves by preventing a deputation proceeding to England. The excellent effects produced by Mr. Montagu's visit are likely to be entirely destroyed. The action has produced a situation in this country fraught with great peril for the good relations between India and Britain. The Indian people regard the action taken against their most trusted leaders as indicating an attitude of suspicion of their loyalty which belies the professions of good-will and confidence so often expressed by the Premier and other British statesmen. They

particularly resent the manner in which at the last moment the deputation was treated. They view with grave concern this surrender on the part of the Imperial Government to those reactionary influences which are active in destroying the good relations between this country and Britain. At a time when the Empire is engaged in a most vital struggle for existence they regard it nothing short of disastrous that any action should be taken so gravely affecting the public tranquillity of India and confidence in the good-will and sense of justice of Great Britain. They pray that the action may be rescinded and the deputation allowed to proceed on a mission which has behind it the sanction of the vast majority of the people of this country." Though objection may be taken to some of the statements in the communications, it nevertheless brings into prominent relief the principal objections to the Home Government's order, and more than that, the manner of their refusal to the deputation. Why the order is taken exception to—apart from other considerations—is because of the mischievous propaganda carried on by the Sydenhamites, the vast bulk of whom represent the Hydes of the Anglo-Indian society. The country is beholden to His Excellency the Viceroy for his permission to the deputation to proceed as far as the Cape, to await there the reconsidered orders of the Home Government. It is earnestly to be hoped that on a reconsideration of the matter, they will be allowed to proceed to London. If perchance they are not, we fear there will be considerable discontent, and perfectly justifiable, not only in avowed Home Rule circles but in the ranks of all other Indian Nationalists. At a critical time like the present when it is rightly said that Britain is fighting with her back to the wall for her very existence and when the Prime Minister has felt it to be his duty to call upon Indians to rise equal to the occasion in the defence of their country, it would not be an act of statesmanship to accentuate the bitterness of feeling in connection with the deputation. After all in Britain—the home of true liberty and independence—a few Indian Home Rulers will not and cannot aggravate the situation already in existence. If they make tactless speeches, they will but discredit themselves, and—at least to some extent—the cause they represent; while if they proceed on the right lines, they may, besides doing a service to India by counteracting the mischief being done by Lord Sydenham and his Indo-

British Association, materially strengthen the hands of Mr. Montagu in the introduction and promulgation of the proposed reforms. There has been pursued of late in India a policy of pin-pricks which is very vexatious and is highly resented, and it would be a great pity if yet one more is added to it by the refusal of the Home Government to let the Home Rule Deputation proceed beyond the Cape to London. At present we can but hope for the best.

VI.

Since the Imperial Legislative Council began to sit in Delhi in 1913, its proceedings have been if not exactly dull, at any rate, of not sufficient public interest. This has been largely due to the disappearance from that body of its greatest personality, the late Mr. Gokhale. Except for one short speech which he made at Delhi, Mr. Gokhale's connection with the Imperial Council practically ceased with the termination of the session of the Council in Calcutta in March 1912. Those were glorious days in Indian public life when Mr. Gokhale—with the laurels yet fresh on his forehead for having secured the Morley-Minto reforms—was at his best. The many masterly speeches he delivered during the three years covering the first term of the reformed Council have already become classics in Indian political literature and many a student of Indian public affairs will, even many years hence, turn to the files of the proceedings of the Council during the years 1910 to 1912 for seeking guidance, enlightenment and inspiration from Mr. Gokhale's speeches. It was therefore in the fitness of things that a marble bust of Mr. Gokhale's was placed in the Council Chamber at Delhi and unveiled by the Viceroy last month and it was a happy return of compliment on the part of the European members to have presented it since the Indian members had subscribed for the busts of the late Sir John Jenkins and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson. In inviting the Viceroy to unveil the bust of Mr. Gokhale, Sir William Meyer rightly characterized him as "without exaggeration the most able and distinguished Indian who has sat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council." As a rule we do not approve of superlatives, but Sir William's reference to Mr. Gokhale is absolutely just and well-deserved. But it was not only that Mr. Gokhale was what the Finance Member described him to have been. The most remarkable thing about him was

the tremendous influence for good he wielded over his colleagues with the result that each non-official Indian member tried to put forth the best in him so as to merit Mr. Gokhale's approval. There are still some in the Council who were Mr. Gokhale's colleagues and a comparison between the out-turn of their work then and now will amply bear out our contention. In fact, the contrast between the proceedings of the Council then and since has been so marked that one wonders whether it was worth while printing them year after year in such detail in volumes of over one thousand pages of foolscap. We have just concluded a careful perusal of the twelve hundred pages which record the proceedings of the Council from April 1917 to March 1918 and we are free to confess that except for a few speeches there is very little in it that we have found to be edifying. About the only redeeming feature of the work of legislation and the many speeches made in connection with the Bills passed was the proceedings on the occasion of the enactment of the Income Tax Act when five Indian members stood out for justice in the broadest sense of the term and supported in short speeches the principle underlying clause IV of the Bill, which was, however, defeated by the coalition of official and non-official members. All honour to Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru—who so ably and worthily represents the people of these provinces—and his four compatriots, Sir Dinshah Wacha and Messrs. Sastri, Sarma and Jinnah. It is distressing to find amongst the opponents of the clause such popular leaders as Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea, Madan Mohan Malaviya and Khaparde. The moral of the sorry spectacle is pointed out by our very thoughtful contemporary of the *Indian Social Reformer* which rightly remarks that "the division has brought out the fact that the special electorates by joining hands can overwhelm the general interests of the State," and yet special electorates are fetish to so many amongst us. Apart from the work of legislation, there has been little useful work done by the members except Messrs. Sastri and Sarma, followed at a long interval by Messrs. Malaviya and Surendranath Banerjea. In fact the first two have taken so prominent a part that the *Satesman* had the following humorous comment on the subject:—"Apparently the labour of moving resolutions in the Imperial Legislative Council is, for the most part, divided between Mr. Sastri and Mr. Sarma. When Mr. Sastri feels the need of repose Mr. Sarma takes up the running, and when Mr. Sarma is tired Mr. Sastri is

ready for the fray." Now it is gratifying that the two Madras members should be monopolising the attention of the Council, but it were much to be wished that some others displayed equal zeal and pertinacity. The following estimate of the members and the work done by them, which appeared in our esteemed contemporary of the *Leader*, is eminently fair and judicious and we gladly associate ourselves with it :—"The Hon. Mr. Malcolm Hogg contributed the best argued speech to the general discussion on the financial statement. Sir Dinshaw Wacha went at his non-official colleagues as he had done before, but without necessity or justification, while our other veteran the Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea's speech showed that his powers of oratory were undimmed by age. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya maintains his position as the leading and most respected member among the non-officials, while our other representative, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, is liked and esteemed as a thoroughly straight, well-balanced and uniformly fair-minded critic. Mr. Sastri has won a very high position by his habit of accurate, temperate and businesslike statement, while his eloquence and judgment are admired. The Hon. Mr. Sarma is an easy first for conscientious hard work and minute attention to various subjects. The absence of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah was felt. The Hon. Mr. Jinnah is a clever and effective debater, but the Hon. Mr. Haque did nothing whatever during the whole session. On the whole the non-official side of the Council may advantageously be strengthened."

Help National Education.

A stirring message from India's Poet Laureate.

The lamp is trimmed,
Comrades, bring your own fire to light it,
For the call comes again to you to join the star pilgrims
crossing the dark to the shrine of sunrise.
The day was when you went forth in your glad adventure of light
and the star of hope thrilled in the sky and kissed your
banner.
But as the dusk deepened you fell behind in the march
and slept with your lights gone out.
While your dreams grew discordant
like the ominous cries of night birds.
Yet though it is dark, and the wind in the forest
is like the wails of lost souls
has not the breath of that prayer already touched your foreheads
which comes from the past echoing from age to age
"Lead me to Light from the dark,
from death to Everlasting Life ?
Sleepers, arise from your stupor of dim desolation
and know once more that you are children of Light.

THE OPEN FORUM.

Criticisms, Discussions, and Comments.

GURUKULA AT HARDWAR.

Prof. Tara Chand Gajra, M.A., contributes an interesting and informing article in the February number of the *Hindustan Review* on the well-known Arya institution at Hardwar known as the Gurukula Kangri. Prof. Tara Chand has been a teacher himself in that academy for a year and a half and hence his knowledge of the institution is first hand. The Gurukula at Hardwar like the D. A. V. College, Lahore, is one of the most important and popular educational institutions of the country. It is owned, maintained, managed and controlled by an Indian agency. The object of the institution, as our readers are aware, is to revive the ancient institution of Brahmacharya and resuscitate ancient Indian philosophy and literature. The medium of instruction followed in the Gurukula is Hindi. The institution has drawn many pilgrims from Europe and America. Sir James Meston, Lord Hardinge, Lord Islington and Lord Chelmsford were some of the prominent official visitors to it. The institution owes its inception and its present flourishing condition to the self-sacrificing zeal of Mahatma Munshi Ram who gave up a lucrative practice in Jullundhur in order to found the above institution.—*The Panjabee*.

THREE PERSONALITIES.

In the *Hindustan Review* for February the editor, our well-known Mr. Sinha, who we are glad, continues to publish the review at Allahabad, has interesting observations to make on Sir James Meston, Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Sundar Lal. It appears to Mr. Sinha that Mr. Gokhale misjudged the probabilities of Sir James Meston's administration of the United Provinces, for 'critics and admirers of Sir James are practically agreed that his administration has been barren of any substantial progress or constructive work which may be expected to leave any permanent mark in the annals of these provinces.' Sir James Meston showed himself weak; he did not stamp the administration with his own individuality, as Lord MacDonnell and Sir John Hewett had done before him, and as Sir Harcourt

Butler is expected to do after him. In almost every other respect he was certainly far better than his immediate predecessor. There was 'that greatest asset of his—his own charming and urbane personality and his vivid and keen realization of the aspirations of India towards the goal of responsible government.' Everyone who knows Sir James would cordially endorse the following appreciation :—

'Just as men are better than their creeds, so an administrator may be better than the policy—or want of policy—he pursues. From this point of view it must frankly be owned that no Anglo-Indian administrator of the present generation has been more popular than Sir James Meston. He is the very pink of courtesy and, in fact, the very paragon of those great social virtues the want of which Lord Morley rightly characterized as a crime on the part of the British in this country. His geniality, urbanity, good temper and good humour are notoriously infectious and none can come in contact with him without being charmed with that perfection of the spirit of *noblesse oblige* which is so pronounced a characteristic of Sir James and so striking a trait of his character.' It is perfectly true that 'there are few Anglo-Indian officials at present who have shown in their utterances a truer conception or a keener appreciation of the true inwardness of the present situation in India.' 'It is therefore a matter of sincere gratification that his services will not be lost to the country but will be available for five years from August next as the Finance Minister.' We trust that in his new position he will do his best to help his old provinces in their onward career by means of liberal financial dispositions.

Mr. Sinha is not surprised at the satisfaction with which the appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler has been welcomed by the people of the United Provinces, where he served with great distinction for about 17 years. He has a 'vast and varied administrative experience' and an 'intimate knowledge of the people of these provinces,' and there is every reason to hope that Sir Harcourt's administration of Agra and Oudh is likely to be a notable one.'

'For one thing, it is certain that the present administration will be the reflex of Sir Harcourt's strong personality, and his own mind. One will know where to place praise or blame as each particular act of his Government will either please or displease the critic. That in itself will be no small recommendation.'

tion of the administration of Sir Harcourt Butler, as it was that of Sir John Hewett. But there is no reason why Sir Harcourt's administration should not be popular. As author of the *Oudh Policy*—a famous tract in Anglo-Indian literature—Sir Harcourt betrayed a strong vein of sympathy with the higher aspirations of the people and his more recent experience in the Government of India must have deepened his convictions as to the goal of this country towards a progressive realization of responsible government.'

Knowing Sir Harcourt as Mr. Sinha does to possess great tact and a truly progressive spirit, he feels sure that our public workers may hopefully look forward to the further enrichment of our public life during his Honour's regime without any fear of unnecessary interference from the executive authorities. He is convinced that 'a period of progress and reform is before these provinces.'

The first sorrowful reflection that came to the mind of the editor of the *Hindustan Review* on the death of Sir Sundar Lal, was that he had not been fated to be a permanent judge of the High Court. But great as was the educationist and greater the lawyer in Sir Sundar Lal, he was greatest as a man. The following rich tribute is not richer than deserved :—

'The sweetness of his disposition, the geniality of his temperament, his urbanity and perpetual cheerfulness, radiating, as it were, a halo of mellow sunshine, ever disarmed all feelings of opposition, and those who came to scoff at him remained to bless him as one of the best of men. Rigid in his orthodoxy but sufficiently tolerant of the new ideas permeating our society as the result of the impact of the levelling influences of European civilization; extremely simple in his habits and style of living but fully appreciative of the inrush of the currents of western modes of life and thoughts; a strict adherent of the culture and the philosophy of India but keenly responsive to the growth and development of western ideals and their harmonious blending with those of this country, Sir Sundar Lal was a type of the best example of the modern Indian, combining and conserving in himself the most stable and permanent elements of the ancient civilization of India and the modern civilization of Europe. The loss of such a great and good man is bound to be felt for a long time to come as a public calamity of the first magnitude.'—The

Leader.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard.* (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*.)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*.)

A Kayastha Wedding.

Inter-Dinner.

A Commendable Step in the Right Direction.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

MR. Jang Bahadur Lal, Vakil of the Allahabad High Court, is fairly well known in the Kayastha community as a quiet and unobtrusive gentleman. He was the honorary secretary of the Kayastha Pathshala for a number of years. His daughter's wedding took place the other day and the *barat* came from Cawnpore. Mr. Jang Bahadur is a *Srivastava* but there were some *Nigam* Kayasthas in the bridegroom's party. The *bhat* dinner is the most formal affair among Kayasthas and it is a matter of real satisfaction that our *Nigam* brethren joined this dinner at Mr. Jang Bahadur's place along with the rest of the bridegroom's party. I have every reason to believe this report which has reached me, and I offer my most sincere congratulations to Mr. Jang Bahadur. We want more gentlemen in our community of the type of Mr. Jang Bahadur who will have the courage to carry out reform without making any fuss about them. He is a recognised member of the Kayastha *biradri* at Allahabad and I have no doubt his excellent and courageous example will be largely followed. Interdining is now an accomplished fact, it should be followed by inter-marriage. I hope our good and worthy friend will not be found lagging behind as far as even inter-marriage is concerned. He will not shout from house-tops but will, I trust act. Quiet courage is better any day than unnecessary shouting. On behalf of the community I warmly thank Mr. Jang Bahadur.

ابن کار از تو آید و مردان چنین کنند

The Late Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose.

LORD RONALDSHAY'S TRIBUTE.

A largely attended public meeting was held at the Dalhousie Institute on Wednesday evening to do honour to the memory of the late Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose, and to perpetuate his memory by erecting a suitable memorial by public subscription. Among those present were Maharaja Babadur Sir Prodyat Cumar Tagore, the Maharaja of Nashipur, the Chief Justice and Justices A. Chowdhury, Greaves, Richardson, N. R. Chatterjee and Huda, Sir S. P. Sinha, Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee, Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, Sir B. C. Mitter, Nawab Abdur Rahaman, Nawab Sujatali Beg, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr. R. D. Mehta, the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Mr. Moti Lal Ghose, Dr. S. P. Sarbadhicary, Mr. Hirendra Nath Datt and Mr. Provasi Chandar Mitter.

On the motion of Maharaja Sir Prodyat Cumar Tagore, seconded by Nawab A. F. M. Ablur Rahman, His Excellency the Governor was voted to the chair.

His Excellency said : We have come together this evening to do honour to the memory of a great Bengalee, the late Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose. That gentleman, after a life of long and useful public work, died in retirement at the age of 80, beloved and respected by all to whom his name was known. For myself I can only claim a slight personal acquaintanceship with the departed gentleman, for I met him once only, when shortly after my assumption of the seals of office, he came in the goodness of his heart to bid me welcome and to offer me words of friendly encouragement in the task which lay before me. But though this is the extent of the personal acquaintanceship which I can claim with him, I could not remain insensible of the influence which he exercised upon a circle which extended far beyond the range of those who had personally known him. The life of a man of great intellectual gifts may leave a deep impress upon the history of his race and times. The life of a man who in addition is endowed with an upright and forceful character will leave its mark upon material more plastic far than the mere printed page recording his death, for it will leave it upon the heart and upon the soul of his people. (Applause.) I do not think that anyone will deny that in the late Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose we have an example of such a life. His great intellectual gifts carried him to the highest office in India which is open to any member of the profession, an office which he adorned.

It has been said of him by one who knew him that as a judge he was exceedingly distinguished, as a lawyer there was hardly anyone like him, but as a gentleman there was hardly any man equal to him either in sympathy or in the manner in which he went to the heart of those who came in contact with him. We do well to gather together to do honour to the memory of a man like him. When he is taken from the midst of us he must inevitably leave behind him a palpable void. His place may be hard to fill but his example remains to stimulate and encourage those whom he has left behind, and it is well for us that this evening we should take this opportunity not merely to offer our sympathy to those who were near and dear to him while he was amongst us, but also to ponder upon the example which he has set to the people of his race (Applause), to contemplate his life. In trying to weigh up his endeavours and achievements, we may turn our eyes with fresh hope and fresh encouragement to those well known lines which have been written by a great poet :—

“Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.”

(Applause).

Sir Gooroodas Bannerjee moved the following resolution :—

“That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta place on record their deep sense of sorrow at the death of their illustrious fellow citizen Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose.” He said that Sir Chandra Madhab was one of the truly great men in Bengal born in the 19th century. He was a man whose many-sided beneficent activities fitted him for the high place which he held for many years.

The Maharaja of Nashipur seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. B. Chakravarty and the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, and carried unanimously.

The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee moved : “That this meeting resolve to perpetuate the memory of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose by suitable memorial by public subscription.” He said that this resolution followed as the necessary corollary to the resolution just passed in silence. If it was felt that the life of Sir Chandra Madhab was an inspiration to his countrymen, then it seemed to him that it was their imperative duty in the national interest to commemorate his life. In conclusion he appealed for funds for the memorial.

Justice Sir Shamsul Huda seconded and Babu Ram Charan Mitter supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Justice Greaves moved that a general committee and an executive committee, with office-bearers, be appointed to give effect to the above resolution. He said that in the autumn of 1914 he became acquainted with Sir Chandra and from that time he was a constant visitor to his house. It was thus in the closing years of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose's life that the speaker was admitted in the intimacy of his private life. He knew him as an old gentleman of unbounded courtesy. Even in his old age and failing health Chandra Madhab used to return his visits from time to time. The speaker knew him as a man of character and courage and a man of great mental ability.

The Hon. Rai Sita Nath Rai Bahadur seconded and Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikary supported the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. R. D. Mehta proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for presiding.

Babu Moti Lal Ghose, in seconding the motion, said that if the rulers of provinces frequently associated themselves with meetings of this character Indians would easily forget that they were living under an alien race. He also suggested that His Excellency should wear Indian costume.

His Excellency, in replying to a vote of thanks, said: I cannot close this meeting without expressing my gratitude for the kindly words which you have used with regard to myself. Babu Moti Lal Ghose was good enough to say that if I attended meetings of this kind sufficiently often he might forget that he was living under an alien rule. Well, gentlemen, no man is responsible for his own birth. It is not his fault that he is born in one country or in another country, but I can assure Babu Moti Lal Ghose that a man can have the best interests of the country of his adoption for the time being at heart (Applause) and that he can put himself into the position of a son of the soil. (Applause.) Babu Moti Lal Ghose twitted me about my heavy broad-cloth. Well, there is something to be said for his point of view; but again I can assure him that one's heart may be true whether it beats under this broad cloth of my own country or within the more airy habiliments of Babu Moti Lal Ghose. (Applause.) Gentleman, I thank you for the cordiality with which you have been good enough to receive this vote of thanks. My last word should be that it is not I who should be thanked; it is you who deserve my thanks for giving me this opportunity of presiding at a gathering of this kind to commemorate the memory of so great a man. (Applause.)

AN APPEAL.

6, ELGIN ROAD,
ALLAHABAD.

The Sir SUNDAR LAL Memorial Committee.

President.

The Hon. Justice Sir Pramoda
Charan Banerji, Kt.

Vice-President.

The Hon. the Raja of Mahmud-
abad, K.C.I.E.

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The Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru.
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Munshi Gokul Prasad.

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain.

The Hon. Raja Sir Rampal
Singh, K. C. I. E.

Raja Suraj Bakhsh Singh of
Kasmanda.

The Hon. Mirza Samiullah Beg.

The Hon. Pandit Gokaran Nath
Misra.

The Hon. Babu Moti Chand,
C. I. E.

Rai Krishnaji.

Babu Govinda Das.

The Hon. Raja Kushal Pal
Singh.

The Hon. Munshi Narayan
Prasad Asthana.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.

The Hon. Rai Anand Saroop
Bahadur.

Babu Vikramajit Singh.

The Hon. Lala Sukhbir Singh.

The Hon. Pandit Radha Kishan
Das.

Pandit Raj Nath Sahab.

Mr. J. Simeon.

DEAR SIR,

At a public meeting held on the 1st March, 1918, at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, under the presidency of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, a large and representative committee consisting of Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, with power to add to its numbers, was appointed to raise a suitable memorial to the late lamented Sir Sundar Lal. At the first meeting of this committee held on the 16th March, 1918, it was resolved that the memorial should be such as to serve some educational purpose, its exact shape and form to be determined hereafter, having regard to the funds that might be collected and to the wishes of the subscribers.

Sir Sundar Lal filled such a large and conspicuous place in the public life of the country that it is hardly necessary to refer at any length to his many and varied public services. As a lawyer of great eminence, as thrice Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University and as the first Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, as a member for thirteen years of the United Provinces Legislative Council and for some time of the Imperial Legislative Council, and above all as a devoted and indefatigable worker in the cause of education generally, Sir Sundar Lal's place is secure in the affections of his grateful countrymen. The memorial that is proposed to be raised, should be worthy of the great and good man whose loss we are all mourning to-day, and in this task we earnestly seek your sympathy and co-operation.

It behoves us therefore according to our respective means and opportunities to do at once all that we can to perpetuate the memory of a distinguished man whose considerable personal sacrifice did his utmost to serve his country. The memorial will be a source of inspiration to generations yet unborn and serve to remind them of the life that Sir Sundar Lal lived and of the work that he was able to accomplish. We are therefore perfectly sure that you will not only co-operate with us in making this proposed memorial a complete success by taking personal interest in it but will, by circulating this letter, enlist the sympathy and co-operation of all those who cherish in love and affection the memory of Sir Sundar Lal.

Yours truly,

PRAMODA CHARAN BANERJI.

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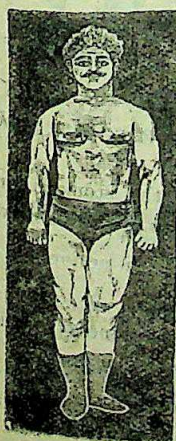
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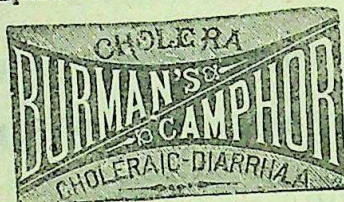
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Social Life in the Pauranic Age—II.

By Mr. JNAN CHANDRA BANNERJEA, M.A., B.L.

 UR last article, published in the September number of this Review, was based on four representative Puranas^(a). In the present article we shall draw our materials from the same sources, as well as from seven other Puranas, *viz.*, Agni, Vayu, Matsya, Kalki, Bamana Brahmapavarta and Padma^(b). The general remarks made in the previous article may be supported by further references to other Puranas, but this is hardly necessary. There are certain features common to all the Puranas, and the same stories, maxims, precepts and ritualistic prescriptions are repeated in many of them with only slight verbal alterations. Some of the Puranas are practically popular compendiums of the whole body of learning prevalent at the time. The Agni Purana, for instance, contains short chapters on all the arts and sciences from sculpture and architecture down to equestrianism, which used to be studied in ancient

(a) Skanda Purana=S. P.; Brihannaradiya Purana=B. N. P. Bhagabata Purana=B. P.; Vishnu Purana=V. P.

(b) Agni Purana=A. P.; Vayu Purana=Vy. P.; Matsya Purana=M. P.; Kalki Purana=K. P.; Bamana Purana=Bm. P.; Brahmapavarta Purana=Br. P., Padma Purana=P. P.

India. Many of the legends narrated in the Puranas seem to have come down traditionally from immemorial antiquity, and will be found in substantially the same form in the great Epics. Isolated features and instances which have been commented on in the following pages may also be paralleled and copiously illustrated from our dramatic and epic literature, and even from the Buddhist Jataka stories, but we shall confine ourselves to strictly Pouranic sources, in order that the subject may not grow too large for treatment within the compass of a magazine article. Other Pouranic legends are to be found in a somewhat crude and undeveloped form in the Vedic literature. The origin and growth of some of these myths, fables and legends have been traced by Orientalists and students of comparative religion. It will not be our purpose, however, to follow in their footsteps and discuss how far some of these stories represent solar myths or nature cycles or the like. Again, some of the Pouranic stories are susceptible of a symbolical, allegorical or esoteric interpretation. But it will not be within the scope of our survey to take note of such interpretations. The point from which we shall approach the Puranas is to take the facts as they are stated in them, and proceed on the assumption that they were believed to be literally true. It is only in this way that we may expect to get a fairly correct impression of the social life of the times when the Puranas were reduced to writing in the final form in which they have come down to us. There is nothing which may be said to be strikingly new in the philosophical framework of the Puranas. It is an admixture of Vedantic monism—the union of the individual with the Universal soul—and Sankhya dualism—the evolution of Prakriti with the aid of Purusha—in various proportions. The doctrines of Karma, transmigration and Maya (illusion), had deeply tinged popular thought in the Pouranic age, and emphasis is laid now on one doctrine and again on another according to the author's peculiar bent of mind. Passages dwelling on the vanity of human wishes and the transiency of mundane happiness are interlarded with effusions, often only a mechanical stringing together of synonyms, extolling the virtues of some deity—principally Hari, Hara or Brahma—and exhortations to faith, which overcomes all barriers. Everywhere, it is the rationalists and free-thinkers, under the name of Hetubadis, Buddhists and Pashandas, who come in for the greatest share of opprobrium. It must be admitted, however, that nowhere in the Puranas does there appear to be any great sectarian animosity. Indeed, this could hardly have been the case when the most noteworthy feature of Pouranic religion is its all-pervasive tolerance. Every roadside tree or stone had its presiding deity; every streamlet had its group of worshippers; every fact or incident was made to yield a religious significance, apart from its practical bearings on normal human life. The numberless gods who peopled this sacred land in the Pouranic age

and exacted our reverence and worship, are simply astounding; and internecine warfare among them would have led to the most disastrous results on the affection and regard of the votaries. Touching episodes, as elevating as they are full of a genuine human interest, occur here and there at rare intervals. The grosser legends are sought to be explained away by their modern exegetes, and this is a healthy indication that our moral sense revolts against them. We shall, however, have nothing to do here with such exegetical refinements, for they are characteristic not of the age which we seek to understand, but of modern times.

The caste system appears in all its rigour in the Puranas, and the supremacy of the Brahmin, as the head of the social hierarchy, is well established. That being so, it is shocking to note how prominent is the part he plays in the immoralities which seemed to prevail in the Pouranic age. The reader must bear with us in our exposition of this aspect of Pouranic life, for it is necessary to go somewhat into detail with our illustrations, revolting as they are, in order to justify so serious a charge against the priestly order who called themselves Bhudevas (a) or gods on earth, and yet could be guilty of such moral delinquencies without jeopardising their social position. But the Puranas themselves supply the explanation when they say that a Brahmin devoid of purity is to be preferred to a Sudra who has his passions under control *e.g.* in the Padma Purana, Kriyajogasara, chapter 21, verse 10. In the following cases the persons named are all described as Brahmins coming from different parts of classical India unless otherwise stated.

Jajnadev was guilty of theft and murder through love of a woman (b). Padmanabha committed murder in a drunken brawl in a brothel (c). Pundarika was addicted to wine and women (d). Buddha had an unchaste wife (e). Stamba was learned in Vedic lore but he made his wife Kantimati serve his favourite prostitute (f). Sumati was precisely like Jajnadev already mentioned (g). A Brahmin, not named, who was guilty of incest is described in the next chapter (h). Sumitra, a Brahmin widow, intrigued with a Sudra and drank wine and ate meat (i). Mandar was enamoured of a prostitute named Pingala (j). Mahananda, a rich prostitute, used to adorn a monkey and a cock with holy beads, and make them dance

(a) P. P. Kriyajogasara, ch. 20, 193.

(b) S. P. Vishnukhanda, ch. 14.

(c) Do. ch. 28.

(d) S. P. Puroshattam Khanda, ch. 4.

(e) S. P. Kartikmahatmya, ch. 7.

(f) S. P. Baisakhmahatmya, ch. 18.

(g) S. P. Brahma Khanda, Setumahatmya, ch. 34.

(h) Do. ch. 35.

(i) S. P. Uttarkhanda, ch. 3.

(j) Do. ch. 10.

in her hall, and enjoy the fun with her companions and attendants (a). Bidur used to live on the immoral gains of his wife, and bestow them on his favourite mistress (b). Gunanidhi was an inveterate gambler (c). Debal waylaid, murdered, and robbed another Brahman (d). Brahmadata was a thief, unbeliever and adulterer (e). Women used to practise magic and administer powder in order to make their husbands submissive (f). A Sudra murders a Brahmin in a brothel (g). Devarata had three sons, who were atheists, adulterers and criminals (h). Drinking was regarded as a much more serious offence than sexual incontinence, Chandasarma, sleeping in a brothel, awoke and feeling thirsty, asked for water, but his mistress gave him wine by mistake, whereupon he prepared to perform the Mounji Hom sacrifice by drinking red-hot ghee (i). A similar account is given of a Brahmin named Bishavasva, who used to visit his Guru every night to study the Vedas, but his friends having stood in the way one night, he spent it in a brothel, where the same scene occurred (j). The well-known sage Jajnavalkya used to offer the king the 'water of peace' with his body bearing marks of his nocturnal debauch (k). The account of the birth of his nephew, divested of the miraculous element, would go to suggest that he was guilty of incest with his sister (l). As a student at the hermitage of Sakalya, he used to pay surreptitious visits to the beautiful mistress of the king of Anarta (m). We again read of a Brahmin who was addicted to gambling, women, and theft (n). In one passage female virtue is described in terms too gross for translation (o). Other passages give a very low idea of the female sex (p). The revolting practices which women are said to indulge in during the temporary absence of their husbands, simply cannot be translated (q).

(a) S. P. Uttarkhanda, ch. 20.

(b) Do. ch. 22.

(c) S. P. Kashikhanda ch. 13.

(d) Do. ch. 53.

(e) Do. ch. 68.

(f) Do. ch. 78.

(g) Do. ch. 81.

(h) S. P. Nagarkhanda, ch. 18.

(i) Do. ch. 25.

(j) Do. ch. 197.

(k) Do. ch. 129.

(l) Do. ch. 174.

(m) Do. ch. 278.

(n) Do. ch. 274.

(o) S. P. Provaskhanda, ch. 101.

(p) Br. P., Prakriti Khanda, ch. 16. It may be here mentioned in passing that the sin of breaking the seventh commandment, specially when the victim is the daughter of one's religious preceptor, is so often condemned in the strongest terms that it is not improbable that it used to be pretty common in those days, otherwise such frequent mention of it would be unnecessary.

(q) P. P. Patalakhanda, ch. 68.

In the Bhagabata, we have a very significant sentence which puts the whole case against women in a nutshell. 'Those who had sinful lives, like women, Sudras, Huns and Savars' (a). The Padma Purana, which is one of the Sattvic Puranas, compares women with Mlechhas or barbarians and says that they are both of sinful origin (b). When accosting a Mlechha or a Chandala, one has to wash his face (c). Knowledge should not be imparted to Sudras, (d) and Sudras and women may not even worship Krishna, they are only entitled to utter his name (e). To permit women to touch the Saligram stone is the greatest of sins (f). Nothing should be done in consultation with a woman, nor should she ever be entrusted with a secret (g). Women are regarded by wise men as the gate to hell, or the pit of death, like a well covered with grass (h). Sumali was fond of music and women, and guilty of liaisons with courtesans (i). Bandhumati, a Brahmin widow, carried on intrigues in a deserted temple of Vishnu (j). In Rukmini's procession to the temple of Ambica, were Brahmin girls, thousands of public women, musicians and bards (k). Being invited to assist in the overthrow of Jarasandha, Krishna went to Hastinapur accompanied by a large army and a retinue of public women (l). Dancing girls and prostitutes had a definite quarter of the town, the south, allotted to them (m). The punishments prescribed for unnatural offences in the Puranas show that they were not unknown (n). The sage Kasyapa was named from Kasya, wine (o). The sage Sukracharya, and his daughter Devajani, used to drink (p). Instances of poisoning in the zenana by jealous co-wives are recorded (q). In Skanda VI, chapter I of the Bhagabata we read of Ajamil who forsook his wife and lived with her maid. Bhadratanu had fallen so low that on the day fixed for the celebration of his father's funeral obsequies, he went to his favourite mistress and addressing her said : 'you are my prayers and worship, you are my sacrifices,

(a) B. P., Sk. 2, ch. 7, v. 42.

(b) Swargakhanda, ch. 17, v. 18.

(c) Do. ch. 26, v. 4-5.

(d) Do. ch. 27, v. 90.

(e) Patalakhanda, ch. 53, v. 45.

(f) Do. ch. 11, v. 25-26.

(g) Do. ch. 68.

(h) B. P., 3, 31, 39-40.

(i) B. N. P., ch. 34.

(j) Do. ch. 37.

(k) B. P., 10, 52.

(l) Do. 10, 71, 16. We find from the Mahabharata that every army had a large following of prostitutes.

(m) A. P., ch. 258, 38, 71.

(n) A. P., ch. 258, 38, 71. P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 46.

(o) Vy. P., ch. 65, 115.

(p) M. P., ch. 25, 30.

(q) B. P., Sk. 6, ch. 8 and Sk. 9, ch. 8.

you are all in all to me, so bid me what I should do' (a). In the Satya Yuga, supposed to be a so pure, a young childless Brahmin widow named Klemankari indulged in a plurality of lovers and became the friend of a public woman (b). A hymn to Vishnu runs thus : 'even as the young man's mind constantly turns to the opposite sex [the original is too realistic for literal translation], so may my mind turn to thee' (c).

Graphic descriptions of the fall of gods and sages and of their misconduct with heavenly nymphs are to be found everywhere, the greatest sinner in this respect being Indra (d). In the Vishnu Purana, there is a pathetic lament of a sage who had lost his virtue and was overcome with repentance when his pleasures had begun to fall (e). The sage Ohyabana, after spending an age in amorous dalliance with his youthful wife, resumed his ascetic austerities when his wife's desire was thoroughly satisfied (f). The moral lapses of Brahma, the creator, with his daughter Satarupa, are well known. The plurality of his heads has no spiritual significance but is ascribed to his desire to feast his eyes upon the beauty of her form, as she went round him to do him obeisance (g). In one place we have an attempt at justification where it is said that the gods alone know the ways of the gods, that their acts, like those of birds and animals, are outside the sphere of moral judgment, and that hence men should not discuss the moral bearings of their conduct (h). The incontinence of the gods Mitra and Varuna led to the birth of the famous sages Vasistha and Agastya (i). The sage Brihaspati, who occupied the exalted position of spiritual director to the gods, was guilty of raping his brother's pregnant wife. The son who was subsequently born to his brother was known as Dirghatama, who in his turn attempted to violate the chastity of his brother's wife, and being turned out in consequence, was invited by King Bali to raise sons on his queen, Sudeshna, which he accordingly did, these sons being known by the names of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha (j). The god Chandra, again, eloped with Tara, the wife of Brihaspati, and Tara's son by Chandra was named Budha (k). The birth of the seven Maruts is ascribed to an act of incontinence on the part of sage Mankan, son of

(a) P. P. Kriyajogasara, ch. 16, 26—7.

(b) Do. ch. 20.

(c) Do. ch. 17.

(d) See *Mahabharata*, *passim*.

(e) V. P., Part I, ch. 15.

(f) P. P. Patalakhanda, ch. 7 and 8.

(g) Vy. P., ch. 65.

(h) M. P. ch. 4.

(i) M. P., ch. 61, 201.

(j) B. P., Sk. 9, ch. 20; M. P., ch. 48.

(k) M. P., ch. 23, 24; see also Br. P.

Kasyapa (a). Sexual continence is said to be the essence of Brahminism (b). But Sankara, the god who was most free from conventionalism, once told his wife that though the sages had reduced themselves to mere skin and bones by practising religious austerities, they really knew nothing of religion, for they had not been able to purge their evil passions and were actuated by mere folly. Those who were pure in mind, he truly added, need not torture the body (c).

The race of Yadus, to which Srikrishna belonged, came to an ignominious end according to all accounts; maddened with drink, the Yadavas fell upon and killed one another and thus perished the once mighty race (d). The character of Srikrishna himself, regarded by countless millions as an incarnation of God, has been depicted in the Puranas in anything but a favourable light. The Vaishnavs, we know, put mystic interpretations upon his frolics with the milkmaids of Braja, but that this view was never regarded as satisfactory will appear from the epithets employed by some of Krishna's contemporaries (e). e. g., licentious rake and the like, and also from the following extract from the great Mahomedan historian Ferishta who wrote more than three centuries ago: "There are various opinions about him [Krishna] current among the Hindus. Some stigmatise him as the greatest rogue in the world, and the most artful cheat of all the sons of Adam. Some believe that he was a prophet, others raise him to divinity." (f) The wives of Krishna numbered several thousands, of whom eight were chief (g). The amours of Krishna with Radha are not to be found in the Mahabharata, Haribansa Bhasa's drama of Balacharita, or even the Vishnu Purana and the Bhagabata. They are introduced for the first time in the Brahmavaiivarta Purana, but however late the origin, the whole Vaishnav cult is now deluged with this theme, with results the opposite of satisfactory from the moral point of view. The Rasa Mandal or dancing circle, which had nothing impure in it in Bhasa's drama (h), gradually assumed grosser forms, till in the Bhagabata, chapters 20 and 33, skanda 10, we come across passages which to the naked eye seem to be capable of only one interpretation, and if any doubts are still left, they are effectually dispelled by the revolting details of the unbridled license of chapter 28, Srikrishnajanmakhandha, of the Brahmavaiivarta Purana. In chapter 67 of the same *khanda* an esoteric explanation is sought to be introduced from the familiar analogy of the Purusha—Prakriti doctrine of the

(a) Bm. P., ch. 38.

(b) M. P., ch. 175.

(c) Bm. P., ch. 43.

(d) B. P., Sk. 1, ch. 15, v. 22—3; Sk. 2, ch. 4, v. 1—2.

(e) B. P., Sk. 10, 74, 35—7; Br. P., Srikrishnajanmakhandha, ch. 115, 121.

(f) Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by her own historians, Vol. VI.

(g) B. P., Sk. 1, ch. 11, v. 31; Sk. 10, ch. 90.

(h) See Indo-Aryan Races, by Ramprasad Chanda, p. 37.

Samkhya philosophy—a doctrine which, it must be admitted, is responsible for the justification of much that is carnal and degraded in the moral conceptions of the Pauranic age. That there is something revolting in the very idea of making Radha, the wife of Rayan, brother of Krishna's adoptive mother Jashoda, his favourite mistress, must have been felt by the redactor of the Brahmapurana, for we find him saying, in two passages, that Rayan did not marry Radha, but only her shadow (a).

In the Bhagabata, king Parikshit asks the sage Suka : How could Krishna, who was divinity incarnate, indulge in sinful intercourse with other people's wives ? what, indeed, was the object of such reprehensible conduct on his part ? The reply which the sage gave to this very pertinent question is a remarkable one. He said, such daring deviations from the conventional code were to be seen among Isvaras (Lords, master-minds, super-men). Like the all-devouring fire, this is not counted as sin among masterful personalities (तेजोयसां न दोषाय). Those who are not Lords of men, should not emulate their deeds even in mind; none but the god Rudra can drink poison without bringing death on himself. What these lords of men say, is true ; what they do, is sometimes so; hence the wise should only follow their reasonable advice (b). This doctrine of तेजोयसां न दोषाय is to be found in other places also. For instance, in the Brahmapurana, the author says that the custom of concubinage was spreading everywhere, as even great men had adopted it; and in justification, this doctrine is quoted (c). It is again urged to justify adultery and other immoral practices, when the sage Jamadagni is made to say that no act of a master-mind is sinful (d). This doctrine is indistinguishable from the philosophy of Nietzsche according to whom an indomitable energy, frank and sincere egoism, and love of sexual conquest, characterise the aristocratic spirit, the master or governors of the world; and it is the Nature's aristocrats, or healthy animals, whom women instinctively love, and who are best fitted to survive and propagate their kind. While the Indian doctrine and its European counterpart are both equally reprehensible, in the West it has at least made men virile and strong, but the East remained long sunk in sensual effeminacy, which it has only just begun to shake off.

In the mythology of the Hindus the heavenly nymphs or Apsaras like Rambha, Menaka, Urbashi, Ghritachi and others have a recognised place and function. They dwell in the paradise of Indra, and amuse the danseuses attached to his court. They are immortal, enjoy perpetual youth, and are of a prepossessing appearance. Their function is to

(a) Br. P. Prakritikhand, ch. 49; Srikrishnajanmakhand, ch. 86.

(b) B. P., Sk. 10, ch. 33, verses 26—31.

(c) Br. P. Brahmakhand, ch. 10.

(d) Br. P. Brahmakhand, ch. 20; Srikrishnajanmakhand, ch. 79.

amuse and entertain the gods, and betray by their charms mortals whose religious austerities excite the jealousy of the gods. Sometimes they fall in love with earthly heroes like Pururava, and only on one occasion has a mortal been found strong enough to resist their charms, and though he was no less a man than Arjuna he had to pay for his temerity, for he was the victim of Urbashi's curse. There are numerous indications in the Puranas from which we can gather that the Apsaras, with their grace and accomplishments and perennial youth, formed the ideal of womanhood in the Pouranic age. Rambha is the crown of the fair sex, as Kanchi is the fairest of cities, so runs one well known verse (a). Among the fruits of pilgrimage to sacred shrines and gifts to Brahmins, none is so often held up before the wistful gaze of the devout as an eternity of enjoyment in the company of celestial Apsaras after death (b). The opening ceremony of a temple of Shiva should be performed by handsome young dancing girls in diaphanous drapery, the result of such a pious act being ages of intercourse with heavenly nymphs (c). In that mysterious land of the Hesperides, Uttar Kuruvasha, the men enjoy perpetual youth, and the women are like Apsaras (d). In the Satya or Treta yuga, women enjoyed perpetual youth and gave birth to a pair of children at the end of their lives. The monthly courses appeared only in the Treta age, with the result that women became premature and prolific mothers (e). The birth of children is lamented as interfering with the pleasures of love, full particulars being given to satisfy the most realistic taste (f). Whenever women are introduced, their physical charms are dilated on with evident relish, though such treatment may not be at all germane to the occasion (g). Women were exhorted to perform certain Bratas in the hope that they would thereby be endowed with perpetual youth (h). Everywhere in the Brahmavaivarta Purana, and in select passages in the other Puranas, the sexual act is classified and arranged with scientific precision and described with a wealth of detail betraying a most prurient imagination and rivalling the temple sculptures at Konarak and Khajuraho. The garden parties and bathing scenes of the Gandharvas and Apsaras (i), and the evening amusements of the Danavas (j), in voluptuous refinement, corruption and sensuality, recall

(a) B. P., ch. 12, v. 50.

(b) M. P., ch. 89, 91, 106, 107, 120, 277. P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 6, 30—31; ch. 9, 91, 154; ch. 21, 63; also Kriyajogasara, ch. 7, 104.

(c) P. P., Patalakhanda, ch. 69.

(d) M. P., ch. 113. P. P., Swargakhanda, ch. 2, 85.

(e) Vy. P. ch. 8.

(f) P. P., Patalakhanda, ch. 67.

(g) Do. ch. 71.

(h) K. P. Part 3, ch. 17, v. 2.

(i) M. P., ch. 120.

(j) Do. ch. 139.

and surpass the description of Ravana's harem in the *Ramayana*, the riotous revelry of the Jadavas in the *Harivansha*, and the evening scenes at Ujjain in the *Mricchakatika*. In giving a picture of the city of Videha or Mithila in King Janaka's time, the poet describes with equal eloquence the ascetics and sages and the Vedic schools as well as the drinkshops and the well-dressed ladies of easy virtue with which the city abounds (a). Elsewhere the poet says that a woman is a favourite only so long as she is young, like the lotus in bloom, which is not visited by the bee in winter when only the stem remains green (b). How women tempt men by an artful display of their physical charms was perfectly familiar to the people of the Pouranic age, down to the grossest detail (c). It will not be wrong to infer from the above and similar passages that a hankering for carnal physical enjoyment in the relation between the sexes was quite keen enough in those days, when men are popularly supposed to have cared for nothing but spiritual enlightenment. In fact, it was one of those times when extremes meet. In no literature in the world has the fair sex been so grossly traduced, and in no other country has man, from the greatest sages and heroes downwards, succumbed so hopelessly to feminine charms. This is the penalty man has to pay for the unnatural separation of the sexes and for asceticism carried to excess. This opposition between the natural cravings of the flesh and their forcible repression is well illustrated in the following dialogue between the sage Narada and Brahma. Narada says to Brahma: "Where is the chance of happiness in woman, whose body contains so many* things that are loathsome and vile?" Brahma replies: "The pleasure afforded by the company of women is greater than the bliss of heaven: feminine touch is the pleasantest of all sensations" (d). The epics, the Puranas, the philosophers, and moralists like Silhan and Sankara, all find in this a favourite theme. They love to treat the body not as the temple of God, but as the abode of sinful lusts and ungovernable passions, and with a view to rouse disgust, the female anatomy is dissected by them with a nauseating accuracy. One cannot fail to suspect that the very violence of the declaration, and the artifices employed to strengthen the cause of morality, are themselves proof of the fact that the fascination of womanhood was felt to be all but irresistible. This is indeed openly admitted in several passages. Moral sense, public opinion, self-control, asceticism, sociality, all prevail only till the glance of a fair woman does not madden the brain.' (e) So long does learning, scriptural knowledge, acute intelligence, prayer and worship, desire for salvation, conscientious scruples, and good

(a) P. P. Patalakhanda, ch. 71.

(b) Do. Kriyajogasara, ch. 5, 53.

(c) Do. Patalakhanda, ch. 65.

(d) Br. P. Brahmakhanda, ch. 23, 24.

(e) P. P. Swargakhanda, ch. 10, v, 40-41.

company prevail, as the glance of a woman's eye, which effaces all religious restraints, does not fall on man^(a). These verses are, in characteristic fashion, immediately followed by others expatiating on the loathsomeness of the female body. We have it in another passage that sexual passion cannot be restrained even by the great. Man is like straw before woman, who is like a burning flame^(b). Here and there, though very rarely, we have texts dwelling on the purity of the female body, and advocating on this ground the resumption of conjugal relations with an outraged wife—an advice which if largely followed, would have saved thousands of Hindu women from a fate worse than death or from being compelled to embrace rival creeds^(c). While manly advice of this kind did not make any impression, verses like the following branding the sex for no fault of its own, gained currency like rank weeds, poisoning the air with their noxious vapour: "Of all things of evil portent, a widow is the most evil. Success never attends the sight of a widow. Excepting the widowed mother, all widows are inauspicious. Hence the wise man shuns even her blessings, as he does the snake."^(d) In fact, even in the best passages we come across sentiments which jar on our finer moral sense. The verses offering oblations of rice to the manes of our departed ancestors at the funeral ceremony breathe a spirit of universal benevolence which has certainly not been surpassed^(e). And yet what, in the lines immediately following, has been described as the fruits of chanting these noble verses at the Sraddha ceremony? They are: increase of sexual vigour and appetite, plenty of fair women and good things to eat, health and wealth, and beauty; these are the flowers of the funeral tree, the fruit being attainment of the Brahman^(f).

The doctrine of the four Yugas is the sheet-anchor of the Puranas, and the modern is regarded as the worst of all the ages. The Krita or Satya Yuga was the golden age of the Pouranic imagination, when religion governed every act of man's life. Dharma is compared in the Puranas to a sacred cow, who lost one of her legs in the Treta, two in the Dwapara and three in the Kali age^(g). The birth of Kali dates from the day of Srikishna's death. All sorts of evil are predicted of this the most sinful of eras. But in a passage in the Brihannardiya Purana, we have a remarkable description of the ten stages of man which would go to suggest that in no age was the old Adam in man altogether asleep, and that the seamy side of life has always been as much in evidence as it is

(a) P. P. Swargakhanda, ch. 32, v. 17—32.

(b) P. P. Patalakhanda, ch. 60, v. 94—6.

(c) S. P. Kashikhanda, ch. 44 and A. P., ch. 165, v. 6—7.

(d) S. P. Brahmakhanda, Dharmavanyakhanda, ch. 7, also Kashikhanda, Part I, ch. 4.

(e) M. P., ch. 17.

(f) Do. ch. 19.

(g) P. P. Kriyajogasra, ch. 26.

now. Man has always been immersed in worldliness, engrossed in earning money and keeping it, often by chicanery and deceit, and governed by passions and jealousies, which continue to hold sway over him till the time comes for him to shuffle off his mortal coil (a). A similar passage occurs also in the Bhagabata Purana (b). The longevity of man in the Krita age is said to have far exceeded that of Methuselah, and gradually declined till it reached a maximum of one hundred years in the Kali age. But the Vedas and the epics furnish convincing intrinsic evidence of the fact that a century has always been regarded as the limit of man's earthly sojourn (c). The Rig Veda is one continuous stream of prayers for health, wealth, prowess in arms and numerous progeny. The Brahman literature is equally materialistic, and the doctrine of work for duty's sake, in absolute disregard of the fruits thereof, was first enunciated by the philosophers and carried to perfection in the Geeta, certainly written long after the Rig Veda, which was 'revealed' in the Satya or Golden age. The Satya Yuga was therefore not more advanced in moral perfection than any other Yuga. That the Yuga theory is not to be taken literally, and was never intended to stifle human initiative will appear from two passages which we shall quote from works which have a higher authority than the Puranas. In the Aitareya Brahman, there is a passage to this effect: "If a man lies prostrate, his Kali Yuga never leaves him. It is Dwapara with him who rouses himself and sits up. The Treta age arrives for him who stands up. The Satya Yuga or Golden Age ever accompanies him who takes to the open road. Move forward, therefore, O Rohita." In the Mahabharata, the wise Bhishma is reported as saying: "As to whether the king is the maker of his times or the times make him, do not have any doubts, for the king is the maker of his times. When the king rules justly according to the proper laws of administration, then the golden age known as Satya Yuga prevails. When the king follows three parts of the laws, it is Treta; when he follows them only to the extent of one-half, it is Dwapara; when he abjures them altogether and his subjects are oppressed, then it is the Kali Yuga. The king is the creator of the Krita, Treta and Dwapara ages; even so he is the cause of the fourth or Kali age." (d) In the Satya age, no man or woman is ignorant (e); as in the Kali age, there is no caste system among men (f); when the Kali age is

(a) D. N. N., ch. 30.

(b) B. P., Sk. 5, ch. 14.

(c) Rigveda, i, 73, 9 and i, 64, 14. There are various passages in the Mahabharata to the same effect, and also occasionally in the Puranas, as in B. P., Sk. 7, ch. 6, v. 6 and M. P., ch. 682 as for contrary passages, dwelling on a fabulously long term of human life in the Krita and other ages except the Kali, they are to be found everywhere, e. g., P. P. Swargakhanda, ch. 3, 72—73 etc.

(d) Mahabharata, Santi Parva, ch. 69., verses 79—98.

(e) Br. P. Srikrishnajanmakhandha, ch. 89.

(f) Vy. P., ch. 8, v. 61 and M. P., ch. 144.

nearing its end, all the castes become reduced to one (a); and with the remnant of the survivors the Satya Yuga comes into being. (b) It is up to the orthodox believer to convince himself that all these signs of a return to the Golden age are manifesting themselves in modern India, and to take heart from them, instead of allowing himself to be depressed by the dark and sombre pictures of the sinfulness of the present age with which the Puranas are overcharged. "While other people are refreshed by the sense that they are moving forward and upward in the fulfilment of some great destiny,...is it right that the people of this great land should be doomed to think that there is no permanent advance for India, but that she alone must for ever return whence she started and repeat the weary cycle of the past? ... the whole idea of the Pouranic chronology is the most effective ever devised by man in any land to bring discouragement and despair into the heart of the people who live under it. Whether we look at the absurd length, the discouraging cycles, or the destructive cataclysms which are an essential part of the system, one and all bring in their train depression, stagnation, and the spirit of reckless waste." "...The idea in all this is that each Yuga or era has its fixed character. Rather than that the men of a Yuga should impart their character to the age in which they live, the age itself has a pronounced moral bent which is transferred to all who happen to live under it. Thus we see in the theory a perversion and contradiction of the facts; for an ethical character is assigned to days and hours rather than to moral beings who alone are capable of such values." "There is nothing more deeply wrought in the consciousness of the people of this land at the present time than the conviction that this time in which we live is indeed Kali Yuga, that it is irremediably bad, and that it taints with its own character everything that has life....This conviction that things are now out of joint, and the settled purpose that all will continue an unmixed programme of evil, has more to do with the sad and universal pessimism of India than anything else of which I know. It crushes all buoyancy and cheer out of the mind and rests like a pall upon every future prospect. Then this expectation of the future robs men of any ambition to remedy present evils." (c)

(a) K. P., Part I, ch. 1.

(b) Vy. P., ch. 61, v. 154 also ch. 58.

(c) 'India, its life and thought' by John P. Jones, D. D. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1908), chap xii.

That the above picture is in no way overdrawn will appear from the writer's own experience, who consulted a learned Oriental scholar some years ago about the books he should read in order to study Indian sociology from the progressive standpoint. The gentleman actually took the trouble to work out by calculation the untold millions of ages through which according to the Puranas, the world had been moving in cycles, and tried to dissuade the writer from his purpose by concluding that no improvement can take place in Indian society till the present Kali age had run its course.

Eastern Women in the Past.

By Mr. V. B. METTA.

IGNORANCE is the cause of many distorted ideas about Asia which prevail in Europe to-day. We can even go further and say that Europe does not understand herself properly, being ignorant to some extent of the real origin and meaning of some of her own institutions. She is at present occupied with the pleasant task of advising the Oriental races to give more liberty and education to their women now than they have ever done before. Most of the Westerners believe that European women have always been *superior* to the women of Asia! They forget that the Greek and Roman women were not treated with anything like respect. An Athenian wife in the days of Pericles was almost a slave in her own house. In the days of Charlemagne we see that even the much talked of Teutonic respect for women hardly existed in a manner which would draw forth our admiration. Once this able sovereign was arguing in his court with his sister on some subject and when he felt that he was almost on the point of being crushed by her verbal blows he suddenly got up and approaching her, gave a blow on her mouth with his gauntleted fist so violently that three or four of her teeth were knocked out of her mouth. It was the gradual penetration of the Moorish ideas of chivalry in Europe, which taught refinement to men and elevated the position of woman considerably.

There are still a great many people who believe that according to the Ottoman Turks "women have no souls!" It is a contemptible lie which needs no contradiction. There is no Turkish gentleman who has believed in such an absurd theory. The Mahomedan in general is run down for *having started* the harem system. Those who have an elementary knowledge of Arab History know that the Khalif Walid II first adopted this system from the Byzantines and that everyone in his Empire objected to it. It never did really take root among the Arabs and the Moors, who admired their women too much to keep them always indoors. The Arab fathers were so proud of their own daughters that they adopted their names as their own surnames. Thus we find such names among them as Abu Leila. It was at Bagdad also, that brothers and lovers rushed into a battle crying aloud

the names of their sisters and ladyloves. This Arab chivalry was further developed in Spain and one can say without hesitation that it reached a point of perfection in Granada which has never been equalled either in Asia or Europe. It then developed its own rules and regulations. Its code of honour insisted that every true knight should be refined, dignified, romantic and possess a high sense of honour. The Moorish Knight instead of shouting the names of his sisters or his beloved as in Bagdad entered the lists wearing some token of his lady love on his shoulders or helmet. It should never be forgotten that the Hispano Arabs had a high respect and admiration for woman as woman. They were unlike the Southern French races who though fairly successful in imitating their chivalry, failed to drive out the sensual element from it. The following story shows how the Moors behaved towards women. Once the Queen of Alphonso VII was besieged in 1139 A. C. in the castle of Azeca by the Moslems and when she found that she could not defend it any more she went up on the top of the tower. From there she requested the Moors to raise the siege of the castle defended by a woman only. The besiegers said that if they were satisfied that she was a woman, they would willingly do what was asked of them. Then she bared her face to them and on seeing it all the Moors bowed before her and like true knights raised the siege and went away, leaving the Christian Queen who had appealed to their sense of chivalry, safe within the walls of her castle.

The Moorish women were respected, and admired without any florid exuberance of words. They could traverse a district in revolt without the slightest danger. Some of them were political advisers to their sovereigns. They took part in literary contests side by side with men. Even from a legal point of view, their position was far higher than that of women in any other part of the world. In some respects, according to an American writer they were much better off than Anglo-Saxon women of the twentieth century. It is enough to say that they were never in a state of tutelage there.

Now we shall try to show that Eastern women have shone with the same lustre as men in various walks of life. Asia has produced innumerable female *Rishis* and Saints. She has produced so many female warriors that a Joan of Arc would have to hide her diminished head amongst them. Among the Japanese, the Hindus and the Mahommedans there were women

who made men tremble before them. India can boast of female warriors like Chand Bibi and the Rani of Jhansi among a score of others. When the great Khalid was besieging Damascus, Caülah the sister of the invincible Derar was taken a prisoner with some Arab ladies. They took up their tent poles and fought against Peter till Khalid and Derar came up there to rescue them. Caülah had killed three men and brought the horse on which Peter was seated on his knees, with the result, that Derar speared its rider instantaneously. We might mention that in the days of Al Mansur it was usual with the royal ladies to go out clad in full armour to do battle with the Greeks.

Learning has always been admired more or less in East and West alike from the very dawn of history. With a few exceptions there have hardly been many brilliant women yet in the West. Even as late as 1750 A. C. laws against women were very far from being just in England. Education in the case of women was so much decried that at the end of the eighteenth century, Mary Wollstonecraft was appealing to her countrymen to give some education to the women of England. Asiatic women were treated differently as history tells us in plain words. Lord Curzon who occasionally understands Asia and the Great Oriental Soul once stated that Oriental women have exercised more influence over the destinies of nations than European women. There never was any Salic Law in the East at any time and therefore we find such Eastern Empresses or Queens like the brilliant Semiramis, Hatasu one of the greatest rulers of Egypt, the fascinating Cleopatra, the Empress Zingo of Japan, the beautiful Balkis known as the Queen of Sheba, the wisest among King Solomon's queens, Rezia Begum of India and even the late Dowager-Empress of China. We have said already that women were often the political advisers of their sovereigns in Moorish Spain. The coins of the realm often bore the heads of the King and Queen in that part of the Arab Empire, as in India also under some of the Great Moguls.

In the ninth century of the Christian era, when most of the learned men in Japan were devoted to Chinese culture, Japanese women were busy in developing the lighter native literature. The most famous among these women were Shikibu, the author of the "Genji Monogatari and Seishonagon who wrote the Makura-No-Zoshi" both of whom are now looked upon as classical novelists in Japan. In the latter part of the Tokugawa period,

we also find poetesses like Cho. Koran and Chiyo. Ancient India gave birth to Lilavati, the daughter of Bhaskaracharya, the great Mathematician. This daughter of a great man, not only stands in the front rank of Mathematicians of the world but has successfully defied her sex till now to produce another one like her in her own line. Gargi was perfectly able to hold her own in theological discussions with the Sage Yajnavalkya. Mirabai, the Rani of Chitore and the Princess Zeb-un-Nissa a daughter of Aurangzeb were poetesses of a high order in comparatively recent Indian history. If we turn to the history of the Moslems we shall find that the number of famous women is too great to be dealt with in a small essay like this.* Kharka was a famous lady who resided at Mecca and it was taken for granted then that all the learned men who went on a pilgrimage there, had paid their homage to her also. Her beauty and wit were sung in passionate verses by one of the greatest of the Ommeyad poets. Sukaina was a brilliant *Salon*-woman whilst Umm-ul-Banim was the political adviser of Walid I. The Empress Zubaida sent letters written in verse to Harun-al-Rashid. In the time of Al—Mamun Obadah was acknowledged as a very great Musician. Shaikha Shuda lectured on History and Belles-lettres whilst Zainab Umm-ul-Muwayyid the great lady-jurist was licensed to teach law at Bagdad. In Moorish Spain, Sofia was justly celebrated for her calligraphy and Zainab and Hamda were proficient in most of the sciences then known to the world. Moorish women studied philosophy, Grammar, Rhetoric, Law and Theology. It is interesting to note that whilst many Arab women could become professors of the then favourite subjects in their Universities, English-women of to-day cannot obtain degrees at either Oxford or Cambridge! We therefore ask the most pertinent question. How many women professors are there to-day throughout the whole highly advanced "Western world" and then like pilate wait for a *truthful* answer.

Love and woman cannot possibly be separated altogether on this earth. The feelings which the Persians and the Arabs entertained and expressed on this subject are so intense, flaming, thrilling and intoxicating that it is impossible to compare them with those of any other race. The loves of even Paolo and Francisca or of Abelard and Heloise are cold when compared to the ecstatic

* Fatimah the daughter of the Prophet takes the place which Virgin Mary occupies in the Catholic Church.

trances of Leila and Majnoun. A Persian lover thus said to the woman of his dreams :

"Be I the string the note be thou."

These Moslems were born lovers. Nothing was too much for them in order to please the heart of their Beloved one. The ethereal palace and the gardens of the Az-Zahra in Moorish Spain were raised in a moment as it were to satisfy the whim of a favourite Queen. The Emperor Jehangir of India gave the reins not only of his heart but of his government to Nur Jehan his beautiful and accomplished Queen and the incomparable artist Emperor, Shah Jehan raised, in memory of his Mumtaz-i-Mahal the peerless Taj Mahal at Agra.

The idea of the perfect wife was best developed by the Ancient Hindus. The Hindu wife's highest ambition was to be unselfish, pure and perfect. She did not want wealth nor did she ever care to flaunt her beauty before the eyes of everyone. She was essentially the ethical product of her country. She knew that her sphere in life was not the same as her husbands and therefore she did not cry for more rights. She felt that in love it was nobler to give rather than to take. Sita, Damayanti and Savitri suffered more hardships on account of their great love for their husbands than did any other women of Ancient or Modern times. They led an intensely emotional life and not a rational and common place one where "rights and duties" are likely to be discussed between the two sexes till the end of time.

The only rational people among whom men and women do not waste any time in discussing their "rights and duties" are the Burmese. They lead to a great extent an unimaginative life for an Oriental race. Women know that they are not inferior to but different from men. In a Feudal State of Society women were inevitably looked down upon as inferior beings but as feudalism hardly ever flourished among the Burmese, their women never passed through the same humiliating stage as their European sisters. In Europe, woman is still considered legally more or less a "protected" being. She could not own any immoveable property because she was considered too weak to be able to defend any property that she might possess. Again marriage had nothing to do with Religion among the Burmese at any time. It was a partnership pure and simple. Even after marriage, the girl retains her own family surname and does not adopt that of

her husband's family. In all business matters both husband and wife sign their names together whenever necessary.

I have tried to show what Oriental women have done during the past centuries or even thousands of years. I happened to send to an English lady a very small article which I had written on this subject. She returned it to me and said, "These Asiatic women, must have been wonderful if they could do all this in spite of their *bad* institutions." She knew practically nothing about Oriental history and, in spite of all facts to the contrary, she remained convinced that Asiatic women never were of any importance in the world. Prejudices are strange, almost indestructible growths in the human mind. Institutions are to be admired according to the quality of their products. Better have all the bad institutions of Asia and produce such wonderful women than have European institutions which on the whole have produced very few really remarkable women! The printing press might have inspired many women to write *bad* novels and worse poetry in the West but it has not allotted to many of them, a place among the great men and women of the world. We do not hesitate to say that in certain respects Western women have better opportunities to-day in learning something about the whole world in general than their Oriental sisters. They are superior to-day to the women of the East in breadth though not necessarily in depth of thought. But let us not forget at the same time that this is due partly to the worship of the Virgin Mary (a truly Oriental Mother) over the whole of Europe for fourteen hundred years at least and partly to the romantic influence of the Spanish Arabs.

History of S. E. Wynaad Gold Mines.

By Mr. C. H. ROW, B. A.

THE first official to refer to the subject of S. E. Wynaad Gold Mines was the Hon. J. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, in 1793, when Malabar (of which Wynaad then formed part) was under the authority of the Bombay Government. He enjoined on the local authorities "to collect and submit every information that could be obtained on the subject." There is, however, nothing on record to show that any scientific person was deputed to explore the places where gold dust was known to be found or that any particular inquiry on the subject was set on foot. In 1831 Mr. W. Sheffield, Principal Collector of Malabar, wrote an interesting report on these mines (1). The same year the Hon'ble East India Company officially purchased the precious metal. The Governor-in-Council of Madras instructed the Collector of Malabar, to charge in his accounts "the value of the gold dust forwarded from time to time from your district to the Presidency" (2). They further wrote: "You will be pleased to instruct Mr. Hudleston (the Collector's Assistant) to collect as much more of it as can be obtained to be disposed of as may hereafter be directed." (3) The record of one transaction is actually preserved to us and that was when 5,287 rupees worth of it was purchased (4), February 1831. Soon after Mr. Sheffield's report came in Government appointed H. L. Huguonin, a Swiss then resident at Calicut and Lieut. Woody Nicolson of the 49th Regiment Native Infantry, with a party of Pioneers to assist them, under the general authority of Major Crewe, then Commanding Nilgiris, to search for gold in the mountains of Malabar (5). Lieut. Nicolson's wrote in the most enthusiastic terms but failed to influence any action on the part of Government (6). The latter appointed on 14th December, 1832 (7) a special committee of three persons, consisting of the then Principal Collector, Superintending Engineer and Zillah Surgeon of Malabar, to examine his conclusions and recommendations and they decided that if Government determined to mine on its own account an expenditure of Rs. 20,000 would be necessary for working expenses and machinery (8). This preliminary outlay the Government refused to incur being "fully convinced of the inexpediency of working the gold mines on account of Government." It is interesting to note *en passant*, that little was known in Lieut. Nicolson's time of quartz crushing and gold mining. In seeming despair he suggested to an unbelieving Government as an item of economy that the light wooden trays used in gold washing might with "a little ingenuity" be made to serve as well for the regulation caps of the Pioneer Corps to whom he proposed to teach the native methods of washing gold! It is also amusing to recall the care with which the zealous Lieutenant proposed to guard against competition and

(1) Correspondence regarding gold mines in Wynaad.—Government Pamphlet 1874, p. 4 & pp. 54-5.

(2) *Ibid* p. 1.

(3) *Ibid* p. 1.

(4) *Ibid* pp. 1-2.

(5) *Ibid* 16-17

(6) *Ibid* 5-6, 10-11, 15, 21-22, p. 32.

(7) *Ibid* 23.

(8) *Ibid*. See for their report pp. 23-36 and for their calculations pp. 32-4

imitation (of his proposal to raise water by bamboo syphons by "Moplay" workers) by placing "guards over minors" in sufficient numbers! It is on record that Lieut. Nicolson pitched his camp on the Estate subsequently known as the Hems-lade, and afterwards part of the property of the Devala Central Co. He is said to have pointed to that spot as the one where gold-mining in the future would first commence (1).

Between 1832 and 1866 the old state of things continued. In the latter year or in the one previous to it, one Mr. Stern (of Australian experience) paid a prospecting visit to Wynaad and made trial of the alluvial deposits. He tried near Devala by sinking pits to "bottom rock" but did not get gold in sufficient quantity to make it worth while continuing his work. In 1873, however, a marked change took place. A few gentlemen, notably Mr. Caleb Vigor and Mr. G. E. Withers, (2) who had had considerable mining experience in Australia, came into Wynaad and the story of their 'suspecting' gold in their new settlement is found often told in the newspapers of the time. "It appears," says one of the most authentic of these, (3) "the first European of recent years to be impressed with a belief in the existence and future of Indian gold was a gentleman of the name of Mr George Vigor. This old man who had passed many years as a gold digger in Australia was finally deposited by a sudden revolution of fortunes amidst the vales of Wynaad and had not been long located there before he formed a shrewd suspicion that the quartz of the neighbourhood was richly auriferous." He verified it at Devala and then "fell in, up at Ootacamund, with an old associate, my host Mr. Withers." The two returned to Wynaad, and their first step was to lease a small piece of land from the Raja of Nilambur. They were now joined by a couple of gentlemen of the name of Ryen and by some others, and the ultimate outcome of the matter was that they "sublet the rights they had acquired to a mining Co., floated under the name of Alpha." The history of this initial enterprise, as indeed of the others that followed it, was not a brilliant one. Founded on incompetence, it ended in misfortune. The whole concern was started on the grotesquely small capital of Rs. 100,000, of which a heavy percentage went into the pockets of the promoters, while a large portion of the balance was swallowed up by buildings and prospecting. The machinery, purchased with the paltry sum in hand was as defective in quality as in quantity and to all these conditions had yet to be added the crowning one of incompetent management. Messrs. Vigor and Withers, however, refused to be discouraged by such a fiasco. When the Alpha Co. expired, they boldly came forward and took over its machinery and demonstrated that the failure could not be attributed to the lack of auriferous stone. A small association was formed under the name of the Prince of Wales Tribute Company and in all about 300 tons of quartz were crushed. The result was an average return of 16 dwts. of gold to the ton of quartz and this was obtained from over 200 tons of stone. Two dwts. of gold covered the expenses and the remaining 14 dwts. meant a clear profit of about 75 per cent. And this was despite their "wretchedly defective machinery" (4)

(1) *Madras Mail*, 29th June, 1882.

(2) The others were according to various contemporary accounts Messrs. R. V. Capps, Adolphus Wright and Mr. Fletcher.

(3) Special correspondent of the *Times of India* writing from Devala. See his letter extracted in *Madras Mail*, 26th July, 1880.

(4) See "Pioneer's" letter in *Madras Mail* for 2nd April, 1881; T. W. D's, in the same for 4th April, 1881; article in *Mail* for 7th June, 1881; and letter of Messrs. Orr & Sons in *Vanity Fair*, 17th September, 1881.

By the way it may be remarked, that the first workers of gold on modern principles commenced operations in April 1873. They cleaned out an old Kurumbur shaft on the Shulimalai Hill, a conspicuous head-land about three miles almost due south of Devala and just below the old Alpha Mine, and bottomed it on the reef at a depth of some 70 feet from the surface and took out stone containing visible gold from the reef. They then proceeded to the reef, ever afterwards memorable as the Alpha, in which they found visible gold. They prospected it until January 1874, when the Alpha Company, so called because it was the first to be started in the Wynnad and to be worked on modern European principles, as stated above, failed and in June 1877 the Prince of Wales Tribute Company, so called apparently after His Majesty the King Emperor of India who then as Prince of Wales had just then toured in India, took over its claim. They raised the quartz principally from Wright's Level, named after Mr. Adolphus Wright, one of the pioneer workers. Though they had to work with inefficient machinery and famine stricken coolies, they worked the claim with advantage making 10 to 12 dwts. of gold to the ton of quartz. The original Alpha Co., 150 ozs. of gold was sold for some Rs. 6,200 to Messrs. P. Orr and Sons of Madras. The Tribute Co. thus succeeded where the Alpha Co., failed; this they attributed mainly to their economical working, strict personal supervision and careful testing of the stone before sending the same to the mill for treatment. The success of the Alpha Mine in the hands of the Tribute Company led to the forming of several companies; none of which, it is sad to think, ever counted economy a virtue in the working of the mines.

The mining operations of the new Australian settlers induced the Madras Government to get the country re-examined and reported upon this time by the Geological Survey of India. Mr. W. King, the Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Geological Survey accordingly visited it in 1874 and his report is published in the Memoirs of the Geological Survey for May, 1875. Though he thought that quartz crushing may prove successful at least in the Ambalakode Amsam (he only put down 3 dwts. to the ton of quartz) (1) he was decidedly of opinion (2) that the country should be "tried cautiously." He warned that there was no promise like that of the Australian or American gold fields; no great nuggets have been found; the washings have always been poor, though there is a small supply of gold swept down the hill sides every year from the wear and tear of the quartz ledges, and the areas over which they can be applied are very small; and the gold which has been seen in the reefs is only in minute strings and grains." He was not sanguine of the gold producing powers of the country and "it should not be forgotten," he warned investors by quoting from a distinguished authority, "that the most favourable indications are not always reliable, and the sanguine prognostications so frequently given rise to are not borne out by the result of actual working; wherefore I should, even under the most favourable circumstances, not advise any one to invest in such enterprises to an amount beyond what he can afford to lose without serious embarrassment." (3)

Four years later Government was compelled to turn its attention again to the question. Sir Andrew Clarke, R. E., then Minister of Public Works in India, was, in February 1878, on official duty (he was in fact reporting on the Harbour Works) in Madras and he was then "induced to

(1) Memoirs, Vol. part II, May 42.

(2) *Ibid* 44-5.

(3) *Ibid* 45.

pay a flying visit" to the Wynaad to inspect the works of the old Alpha Mining Company. "Sir Andrew," wrote Dr. Thornton of him, "was not experienced in gold mining operations. He had been present in 1853 at the first rude experiments made by Rosas, the Silesian Mining Engineer, in extracting gold from crushed quartz at Black Hill, near Ballarat and the support then given by the Executive Council of Victoria (of which Sir Andrew was then a member)—led to the rapid development of this form of gold mining industry, which up to that period had been regarded distrustfully by capitalists. Later on, as Surveyor General of Victoria he had under his immediate control the Mining Department of the Colony." Sir Andrew Clarke was struck with two things. The very promising character of the reefs on the one hand, and on the other the utter inadequacy of the Company's mining operations on a large scale. His views on the probable existence of gold in paying quantity were communicated to the Madras Government but were received at the time by that most cautious body of administrators with good natured incredulity. Not discouraged, Sir Andrew Clarke, on his return to Calcutta placed the matter before Lord Lytton and his Council and it was decided that the locality should be examined by a thoroughly competent and trustworthy mining Engineer. Sir Andrew was allowed to name his own man for the work and his choice fell on Mr. R. Brough Smyth, F. G. S., a practical mining Engineer of high reputation in Victoria, formerly a subordinate of Sir Andrew and the author, moreover of a standard work entitled "The Gold fields and Mineral Districts of Victoria," and for some time Secretary to the Mining Department of the Colony.

On the invitation of the supreme Government he proceeded to Madras in August, 1878, and presented himself before the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Governor of Madras. His Grace feeling that the Government of India had not fairly dealt with him in the matter said "he knew nothing of him and declined to entertain him" until the Government of India explained matters. Explanations followed and Mr. Brough Smyth was allowed to proceed to Wynaad forthwith and with the help of Mr. Thomas Laing, C. E., made a professional examination of the gold fields of S. E. Wynaad and submitted his Report on them to the Madras Government on the 20th of October, 1879 (4).

The publication of this Report in the *Gazette of India* marked the turning point in the modern history of these mines. It was quoted from again and again by the numerous Company promoters and vendors of mining rights that almost immediately afterwards came to the forefront. Much was, it must be confessed, made of the fact that Mr. Brough Smyth reported on the fields by order of the Government of India, who were naturally enough presumed to have no bias for or against their workable character. His Report, however, did not in fact add much to what was already known about the mines. It did not justify, for example, the establishing of large companies with extensive works, as was subsequently done. Brough Smyth himself was diffident whether the reefs were consistent or not throughout. The best, therefore, that could have been done at that stage was the prospecting of some of the principal reefs to test whether they were so or not. The solution of that knotty question would have saved five millions of British money. But the times were hardly propitious for such sober thoughts. At this time a breakdown in European credit had been closely followed by the Russo-Turkish war which

(4) See article in *Madras Mail*, 2nd May, 1882.

made people dread a general European war. The restoration of peace was quickly followed by the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank, believed at the time one of the soundest of its kind in Great Britain. People consequently had heaps of money either lying idle on their hands or fetching them only beggarly rates of interest (1). They were thus eager to find any investment that seemed attractive. The City of Glasgow Bank had itself in a way pointed out one outlet for this

The Commencement of the Speculative Mania.

surfeit money. Messrs. Nicol & Co., of Bombay (who subsequently went into liquidation with the suspension of the City of Glasgow Bank) had in 1877 interested themselves in the gold mining industry of Wynaad. As was said at the time they did more than "all the abortive methods of the Alpha Company" (2) to bring the mines before the public. They sent a Minerologist of reputation and he secretly passed through the Wynaad and submitted his report. This was quickly followed by the acquisition of several valuable mining rights near Nadukani. When the firms suspended payment, these were reckoned amongst the richest assets they possessed. Nor, indeed, were they disappointed. When the Indian Gold Mining Company was formed soon afterwards a handsome amount passed into the pockets of the creditors. The publication of Mr. Brough Smyth's Report was fully taken advantage of by interested vendors and unscrupulous company promoters. The wildest calculation as to crushings and outturns were made by them and published in prospectuses to gull would-be investors. The Directors themselves in some cases at least being promoters or friends of promoters, never cared to put the expected profits down to the barest minimum. A peculiar feature of these companies was that of vendors

Company Promotion.

whom they shared their enormous sale profits. The first company to be started under these circumstances was that known as the South Indian Gold Mining Co., Ltd., which was launched on the 5th of December, 1879, i. e., on the 67th day after the publication of Brough Smyth's Report principally through the exertions of Mr. William Abbot of Tokenhouse Yard, well known afterwards as the "King" of the gold speculators. From that date onwards until December 1880, for a full year, (3) not a month passed which did not herald the birth of one or more of these adventures. On the 27th January, the South-East Wynaad was started and exactly a month later there was such a rush for the shares of the Indian Glenrock Co., "as had not been," according to the *Mining Journal* of the time, "known in City circles for many a day, we might almost say many a year." One month later still and the Moyar Coffee Company did a clever stroke of business by selling some of its land to the Devala-Moyar Gold Company. A prospectus was issued, and on the sole invocation of the name of Mr. Brough Smyth, as its Manager (on Rs. 3,000 per mensem, it was whispered at the time) there was a rush for the shares even exceeding that which had signalled the advent of the Indian Glenrock. The Devala-Moyar in the following November conceived the happy idea of selling one of the reefs—60 acres out of 2,055 originally acquired—to what was afterwards well-known as the Rhodes Reef Mining Co., after Mr. W. J. Rhodes, one of the original vendors

(1) *Mail*, 1881—1883 etpassim ; *c. g.*, 28th July, 1880, and 23rd May, 1883.

(2) *Times of India* special correspondent in his letter extracted in *Mail*, 26th July, 1880.

(3) See *Mining Journal* of 1st January, 1881, reviewing the rise and progress of the gold mining schemes during 1800 ; quoted in *Madras Mail*, 27th January, 1881.

which paid for its rights £130,000. The Devala-Moyar only paid £13,200 for 2,055 acres, so that the new company paid the extravagant price of £2,600 per acre! It is no wonder then that one of the shareholders of the Devala-Moyar on hearing of the sale, declared the wish that the directors would go on selling other reefs of 50 acres each at a similar price. The Rhodes reef shares were demanded by the public forty-eight times over, and those thought themselves extremely fortunate who were allotted any proportion of the shares for which they applied. Then came the Mysore Gold Company and in August next was successfully floated the Devala Provident, being followed in the next week by the Indian Mammoth, which however was not well received. On 18th September the Wynaad Perseverance was started. Within less than a month, on the 15th October, Mr. W. Abbott introduced the Indian Phoenix Gold Mining Co. Its shares were taken up almost as soon as advertised, coming in that respect only next to the Devala Moyar. On the same day another company, known as the Wala Wynaad, was announced as also the Kolar prospectus. On the 24th following Ooregam Co., was launched out. No fewer than five companies appeared in October. Three of these were the Devala Central, the Rhodes Reef, the South Wynaad and the other two were Mysore Companies. Just before Christmas another Mysore Company was advertised. At the end of 1880 as many as eighteen companies had been successfully floated, thirteen of which began almost immediately to work in Wynaad, principally in and around Devala. Their nominal subscribed capital was two million seventy thousand pounds sterling but over a million of it in cash and shares went to the vendors leaving for preliminary and other expenses in England and development abroad but less than a million.

In the next few months more companies saw the light of day. This quick multiplication of companies was combated from the beginning by sound financial critics. But the speculative mania that had taken possession of them proved too strong even for them. The City writer of a London paper (1) thought it his duty in August 1880 to say a word of serious warning to investors—the small investors—and not the big capitalists and City speculators who can afford to lose their money. He insisted that beyond the tempting reports of Mr. Brough Smyth “up till now there is no proof whatever that gold mining can be prosecuted at a profit in Southern India,” “not one word in the nature of proof that the gold can be made available without absolute loss.” The *Economist* in the next month (September) drew attention to the haste with which Indian Gold Mining companies were being floated. “If Indian Gold Mines are,” it remarked, only a little as valuable as those interested in them make it” then, by all means let the owners of similar property wait until their neighbours get to work when their own claims must rise rapidly in value. It emphasised the statement of Mr. Brough Smyth himself that “until the veins have been opened throughout a considerable length and to some depth no certainty as to their general course or character can be arrived at” and added that that opinion should receive due weight at the hands of would-be investors. It ended with the prophecy which eventually proved only too true that the “great mass of the shareholders in the companies already started will, in the end, lose their money.” (2) An “Old Indian” (3) referred to the poverty of the Wynaad Mines and remarked that they

(1) *World*, quoted in *Times of India* Commercial correspondent's letter, dated 20th August, 1880.

(2) Extracts published in *Mail*, 22nd September, 1880.

(3) Quoted by *Times of India* London correspondent, writing on 10th October, 1880.

could only be compared with the Welsh Mines in their poverty. The London *Times* (May 1881) felt compelled to draw public attention to the "extraordinary inundation of Indian Gold Mining companies." Since December 1879, it remarked, as many as 26 of them had come into existence with a subscribed capital of 3 millions sterling. Half of this enormous sum had gone to vendors, to "the wealthy soil owners, not the native Hindoos but provident Englishmen or Scotchmen, who perceived in time its capabilities and bought it to sell again. More than half of the money invested has departed at once to the vendors." Yet when the twenty-sixth company is floated, it sharply pointed out, no dividends had been paid or paid only out of capital, "the share-holders feeding on themselves, like a pelican its young with blood or money from their own cheek." It then expressed its surprise that hosts of Englishmen and Scotchmen (not great capitalists or companies of capitalists) should be eager to give vast sums of money to certain land owners and another vast sum to certain secretaries, Directors and Engineers on the bare assertion that the money will come out of the Earth doubled and trebled. It is sure, it concluded, they are not making an investment that proves that "it exists by existing" but of a sort which is classed with the "investment to buy numbers in a German or Austrian Lottery or to go on a gambling foray to Monaco."

Meanwhile a great transformation scene was taking place at Devala and its immediate vicinity. The Indian Gold Mining Co. of Glasgow had its property at Nadukani, close to Devala, and a short time afterwards (1) began to work the old Alpha claim; the Devala Moyer Co., were taking possession of Strathearn, Marland, Wrightsland, Harewood and Kintail, all situate near Devala; the Devala Provident Co. had commenced to work the old coffee Estate known as the Provident, near Devala; the Perseverance had taken up the old estate of the same name, also near Devala; the Devala Central Co. worked the greater portion of the land round about the old Alpha mine and thus was situate in the very heart of Devala; the South Indian Gold Mining Company had its property at the Mango Range, some four miles off from Devala; the Indian Consolidate Gold Mining Co., formed on 11th June, 1881 (2) had its properties of Balcarres No. 1, Palmeston and Henrietta between Devala and Pandalur; and the Indian Phoenix also worked close by at Pandalur. Each of these companies had its own Mining Manager, who was usually an expert in his own line and chosen for his experience in gold mining operations in Australia or California. The most distinguished of these, perhaps, was Mr. H. A. Severn, C. & M. E., who was the personal friend of men like Gladstone, Huxley, Ruskin, Tyndall, etc., and was an energetic and resourceful engineer with gold mining experience of some 27 years. He was at the head of the Indian Gold Mining Company's property of Glasgow at Nadukani. It included the reefs of Hamlin, Cavern, Monarch, and Bear. He connected the Nadukani and the Alpha properties by telephone within a year from the commencement of operations. Another was Mr. Brough Smyth himself who had charge of the Devala Moyer properties and of the Rhodes Reef. He came out in his new capacity in February 1881. He was assisted by Mr. Gibchell, an experienced miner whom he brought out from Australia. Over the Devala Central was Mr. Seymour, M. E., who had had a long experience with Mr. Sopwith, C. E., the great mining Engineer. He arrived at Devala in January 1881. At the head of the Perseverance was Mr. Cooper, C. E., who came out in January 1881. Over the South India and Indian Glenrock Companies was at first Mr. C. J. Harvey,

(1) April, 1881.

(2) *Mail*, 15th July, 1881 and *Mail*, 4th November, 1881.

who was originally manager of the Chinese Works of the Port Philip Mining Co. He came out in July 1880 but resigned and left in March 1881. His place was taken by Mr. Pinching. On the formation of the Indian Consolidated Gold Mining Co., in June 1881 Col. Henderson (1) came out as its General Manager. The Indian Phoenix was managed by Mr. D. Grove. He had upwards of twenty years experience in gold mining in Australia and came with very high letters of recommendation to the Directors. He was an energetic officer and as will be seen presently tried to make a "township" of Pandalur. He came out in December 1880. (2) There were, besides, the Managers of other companies working in the neighbourhood, a large number of European workmen, some of them from Cornwall and others from Australia.

The presence of a large European population in Devala led to the opening of the Devala Hotel, which was close to the Perseverance Estate. It was founded by one Mr. Oleff in 1881 and appears to have continued until 1883 (3). It subsequently became the centre of the social life of the resident European community. Almost the first thing that managers of companies did when they came into their properties was the erection of comfortable bungalows for themselves and snug residences for their assistants and European employees. The bungalows that now one sees capping the rounded hills between Devala and Pandalur were all of them built in the years 1880 and 1881. Lines of communications were not in good condition. The Ootacamund-Devala road was described as "wretched" (4) and the main outlet to the sea coast was by the Carcoor Ghaut, which was unfit for the transport of the heavy machinery that had to be brought up. The present Devala-Vythri Road was then not in existence. It was originally opened up by the Wynaad planters and was in July 1881 taken up by Government and bettered, the Carcoor Ghaut being given up at the same time. (5) In the early part of 1880, a Post Office had come into existence and the complaints usual with an institution like that brought the Post-Master-General in October 1880 to the place. He saw to the "much needed improvements in the local Post Office and the establishment of a new office at Gudalur." The Devala Hospital had by then come into existence and the Hospital Committee who managed it sanctioned, in October 1880 Rs. 1,000 to improve its accommodation and had under contemplation a ward for Europeans. In 1881, five of the Mining Companies resolved to send out a Doctor of their own to Devala. Dr. Mountain accordingly arrived in March 1882 on a salary £75 per mensem, each company paying a proportionate part of it. An "Accident ward" was at the same time added to it, owing to the expected machinery accidents. Besides a sum of £1,000 was allotted for the Hospital itself. Dr. Mountain was in May following compelled to go home on sick leave and Mining companies determined to apply for the services of a Commissioned Medical officer to be paid rateably by them. (6) Though large amounts were spent as of necessity by the Mining Managers in telegrams, a Telegraph office did not come into existence until 1882. (7) In October 1882 the dwellers in and about Devala started an "A. B. C." Ground. At their second meeting in the

(1) *Mail*, 4th November, 1881.

(2) *Mail*, 20th December, 1881.

(3) April 3rd referred to.

(4) *Mail*, 21st September, 1880.

(5) *Mail*, 29th July, 1881.

(6) *Mail*, 8th May, 1882.

(7) *Mail*, 18th November, 1880.

early part of November at the Devala Hotel, the members decided to hold, in the beginning of the ensuing year, (1881) a three days gala meeting of the "Devala Canterbury," as it was styled, at which it was proposed to have Archery, badminton, cricket, dancing, football, hurdle racing and so forth with of course drinking and eating. The Raja of Nilambur had become an honorary member and granted facilities for the acquisition of a piece of land suitable for the contemplated sports. These sports were subsequently held on the 25th April, 1881, at Devala "the rising capital of S. E. Wynaad." The local A. B. C. Club took the lead and headed the movement. The programme included running, jumping, cricket, lawn tennis, pony, horse, and foot racing besides other amusements. The place selected for carrying out the programme was a flat of about 400 yards long by 200 broad, the property of the Rajah of Nilambur and formerly devoted to the cultivation of wet crops. The sporting club improved it by draining it but it was expected that it would "yet cause much expenditure and trouble, as it is in parts very swampy" before it could be perfected. Mr. Severn of the Indian Gold Mining Co., gave away the prizes, after which the majority adjourned to Devala Hotel for tiffin. The Hony. Secretary of the Club was one Mr. F. C. Ainslie, (1).

There was also opened shortly afterwards the Devala Branch of the Nilgiri Planting and Mining Association. (2) "The little village of Devala," as it was called at the time, was soon becoming a busy place. The Madras papers had their "own" correspondents in it (1880) and roving reporters to some of those in Bombay (prominently the *Times of India*) who were now and then "through the Wynaad" made it their headquarters. One of the latter who had seen both S. E. Wynaad and Kolar at this time (1881) has left an interesting description of the marked contrast that he discerned between the two places. Wynaad, he said, is every where dotted over with picturesque bungalows and homesteads whereas Kolar has a few clusters of hideous huts; Wynaad has its clubs and hotels but Kolar is destitute of both, and Wynaad is blessed with Society and with the refining presence of fair representatives of the fair sex whereas Kolar but dimly hints at the one and is a cold blank as regards the other. (3) Scarcely three years ago, wrote another of these, "the town of Devala consisted merely of a couple of primitive huts with here and there a solitary planter's bungalow while the European inhabitants might have been counted on one's fingers. Now, the huts have grown into an increasing line of respectable bazaars: the solitary planter's bungalows are lost amid the hundred and one picturesque cottages on surrounding hills; and the European population has already reached something over 300 in number. In fact everything has undergone a marvellous change. The squeak of the wild hog; the bark of the hyaena; the growl of the tiger; and the trumpeting of the elephant, the king of the Indian forests, are sounds once familiar to the ear but now no longer heard. In place of these we hear the miner's pick as he strikes the hard quartz; the driller's hammer, as with heavy stroke he drives the hard steel into the rock, the roll of the wheel barrow which is used in removing the stone and earth, and the reports produced by the dynamite blasting which vibrate and rumble along the surrounding ranges of hills. All this is the result of the modern search for gold. Twenty-eight years ago, when the country was being prospected by one or two persons of the industry, the idea of the existence of the auriferous treasure was more scouted than believed in; now the very opposite opinion pre-

(1) *Mail*, 30th April, 1881.

(2) *Mail*, 20th December, 1881.

(3) *Mail*, 9th June, 1881, (*Times of India* extract).

vails and we seem to have arrived at a period when all doubt is at an end, judging from the fact that gold mining has become a regular mania. Every insignificant landholder in the district hugs his two or three acres which he is quickly engaged in "prospecting." Granted that he unearths a couple of boulders of quartz then the furor increases and the land which until then was of mere nominal worth, suddenly becomes a valuable property. Thus it happens, that to be possessed of land in the Wynaad, is to have the prospect of a fortune at no very distant period. Not very long ago many a planter might have been heard merrily giving vent to his ideas in verse something to the following effect :—

I am a planter don't you see,
Growing coffee, also tea,
And Cinchona which you know
is best to pay Oh !
And I am bound to make my mark
With my berry leaf and bark,
Officialis, succimbra, and potayo !

At the present time however the picture is changed and the charm echoed with the utmost exuberance of feeling, is on this wise :—

I am a miner don't you know,
Gold finding's all the go,
So I will shoulder pick and shovel all the day oh !
And I will turn the soil and see
If there is luck in store for me
In pyrites with amalgam that will pay oh !"

Pandalur likewise became a busy mining centre. It became early in 1880 the head-quarters of the Indian Glenrock and the South India Gold Mining Companies. To the latter belongs the bungalow then and even now known as the Mango Range Bungalow, finely capping a high hill about 2 miles from Pandalur. It grew in importance with the advent of Mr. Grove in December 1880. Shortly after that a Post office was sanctioned for the place, the Government stipulating that miners should erect it at their own expense. "Pandalur is a lovely retreat,"—wrote an eye witness in the beginning of July 1881, "and some charming bits of scenery may be seen here. At Pandalur, too, for the first time after leaving Ootacamund I met some English ladies, and they seemed to impart by their presence a charm to the grand old jungle retreat which all its natural beauty could not afford in itself. The good people of Pandalur appear to pass the time very pleasantly on the whole with picnics, lawn tennis, carpet hops, and so on, and just before my visit they had a jolly week or two of races and sports. They are not altogether bereft of spiritual ministrations either, as the padre at Ootacamund visits the place once in two months for the purpose of holding services, etc." A scheme for the building of a Church for the use of the European population had been projected in 1880, Mr. J. W. Ryan taking a great deal of interest in it. A site was chosen for it near the Trevelyan and Provident Estates, about 3 miles north of Devala and about as far in a north-Eastern direction from Pandalur. Though the proposal continued to be entertained even as late as 1883, it was never carried out. The S. E. Wynaad Gold Mining Co. owned the property situated to the right of the old road from Devala to Pandalur. It included the estates of Richmond, Elizabeth, Downham, Needlerock and Bolingbroke and in all measured some 2,000 acres in extent. The bungalows that now one sees in these estates were then built for the use of the

European miners and the artisans who worked in them. The Glenrock Co. built in 1880 two bungalows upon a spur of the Chick Hadiabetta. These are the present Mining Manager's Bungalow and the one close to it, in those days occupied by the English miners and smiths. Mr. Grove built very snug and comfortable quarters for his miners and himself in 1881. His own, then known as the Engineer's Bungalow and now as "Grove's Bungalow" caps the summit of a hill which commands almost the whole property and is quite an ornamental structure. At this time there were no shops. As soon as Col. Henderson, head of the Indian Consolidated Gold Mining Co., came out in 1881, he built quarters for himself and the officers and miners who accompanied him. He built and resided in the Bungalow on Balcarres No. 1, yet known as Col. Henderson's Bungalow. The bungalow to its south, known now as the Engineer's bungalow, was occupied by his Mining Engineer. A third one was below these two, on the roadside, which was occupied by the Superintendents of the Mines. This was pulled down in 1900 by the Agent of the Nelliala Arasu. At either Pandalur or Devala, a market fair was held on Sundays. Oilmans stores, spirits, hardware, dry goods, etc., required by the mining community were imported from Madras, Bombay, Australia or England. A Parsi merchant had in 1880 already settled in Gudalur and though at one time he entertained an idea of opening a branch at or near Devala, he never appears to have carried it out. A butcher at Pandalur village, *i. e.*, (the Badaga village) supplied the miners with meat and they got their bread from the Devala Hotel whose proprietor kept a bakery. The demand, indeed, for bread appears to have been so great that it was remarked by one in 1880 that "a clean baker would make a fortune here." To better the situation at Pandalur, Mr. Grove, in his energetic fashion, laid out a township at Pandalur and made fifty-one allotments in June 1881. Substantial houses, shops, and bazaars began to be built in July and these make the present Pandalur bazaar which lapsed to the Nelliala Arasu under the conditions of the deeds and are at present owned by him. Mr. Grove further projected a suitable bank, a town-hall and a domestic water-supply scheme for the township. In regard to the last of these he proposed to lay out an inch piping (galvanised) the pressure being very great. Within the limits of the township (which it must be remembered was within the four corners of the Phoenix property) he charged a rent of not less than one rupee per week for every 15 feet of frontage and 30 feet back. He proposed to levy a fresh rate for water supply. (1) He encouraged one of the European miners on the Phoenix to open out a small shop, almost immediately after the allotment, for the supply of necessary commodities to the community. Another year or two hence, the industry flourishing meanwhile, he wished to see "quite a little English town, unique in its way in Southern India" sprung up among the jungles of S. E. Wynaad. (2) The miners themselves were not forgotten. In September 1881, it was publicly suggested that "as time goes on it is to be hoped that Miners' Institutes will be established in India by the various companies either singly, or if the mines are sufficiently contiguous in conjunction, where the refreshment for the body that find most favour in this country may be procurable at reasonable rates and where pabulum for the mind in the shape of newspapers, periodicals and perhaps even a circulating library may also be found." It was also suggested that a "Central Institute" of the kind might be used as a temporary Church or chapel. The idea was quickly taken up and the "managers of several of the companies have already commenced one pending instruction

(1) Mail, 25th July, 1881.

(2) Mail, 16th July, 1881 (*Times of India* extract).

the scene of the wars of Spanish, the Polish and the Austrian successions. Each conclusion of such wars was effected by the re-settlement of Italy and she became, so to speak, the prey of the merciless emperors. Thus settled and resettled, she lost for the time all individuality.

This brings us very nearly to the middle of the 18th century or nearly up to the great disruption of 1789 in France—a disruption caused by the domination of the privileged over the unprivileged—the great French Revolution, the first exponent of popular rights against despotism and misrule. The French Revolution did not effect any permanent territorial distribution in Italy. For a graphic account of the condition of Italy before the revolution, *vide* Encyclopædia. “For many generations Italy had been bandied too and fro between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The decline of the French influence at the close of the reign of Louis XIV left Habsburgs and the Spanish Bourbons without serious rivals. The former (Habsburgs, *i. e.*, Austrians) possessed practically the whole of North Italy except the Duchy of Savoy, Piedmont and Sardinia. The Spanish Bourbons held Naples and Sicily, *i. e.*, practically Southern Italy as well as the Duchy of Parma. Equally extensive, but less important in the political sphere were the Papal States of Venetia, *i. e.*, practically the middle Italy.” Thus it was distinctly under 3 powers.

Milan and Piedmont were comparatively well governed. The worst governed part of the peninsula was the South where feudalism lay heavily on the cultivators and corruption pervaded all ranks. Owing to the repressive rule, the democratic propaganda was permeating all the large towns of the peninsula and led to the formation of powerful clubs and secret societies. The iron rule of Austria in the North was very largely responsible for this. Her strong centralised bureaucracy, her oppressive taxation and repressive police system and her sacrifice of Italian interests were revolting to all principles of liberty.

Therefore, when Napoleon, after defeating the Austrians appeared in the North Italian plains, they accorded him a warm reception, welcomed him as their champion who would put an end to all their woes. But for the moment this was not to be. He drove off Emanuel the Duke of Piedmont and Ferdinand the King of Naples and compelled the Holy Pope to retire into the Vatican. Thus, then, the whole of Italy came under Napoleon.

for a time who, though established a few republics here and there, ceded them to the empire of France when he became the first Consul.

Shortly after the close of the Napoleonic drama at Waterloo, the deliberations of the congress of Vienna commenced as to what should be done with Italy. The decision of the powers was that the re-adjustment of territory should be on a legitimist principle of restoration of the former governments which the revolution had overthrown. By virtue of this, the Duke of Savoy came to his dominions receiving Genoa in addition, Venetia with Lombardy came under Austria; whilst Luca under the Bourbon dynasty of Parma, the central Italy under the Pope, and the kingdom of Sicily, *i.e.*, South Italy under Ferdinand of Spain. Though these arrangements completely wiped away all traces of the French Revolution in Italy, yet the desire of independence and nationality generated in the Italian hearts as potent effects of the Revolution still burned with unquenchable flame and was one of the causes of the later developments in Italy.

The countenance given by the Italians to Napoleon had brought upon them the vengeance of restored governments. Further, by this arrangement, the influence of Austria over Italy was augmented and she entered into the possession of the richest and the best fortified provinces; hence she could make her power felt throughout the peninsula especially, as the members of the Austrian Royal Family ruled in Parma, Madena and Tuscany. Her power was felt even in the dominions of the Pope, and even in matters of Papal election her power was great. She was equally powerful in South Italy. Though Ferdinand was the ruler there, he was willing enough to concede to any demands of Austria by way of expressing his gratitude for restoring him to the lost throne. And again as the determined foe of the revolution and as the victor of the Napoleonic war, Austria's policy was to safe-guard her interests in Italy by stamping out anything of the nature of popular reform and constitutional rule. In view of the growing discontent Austria turned her possessions in Italy into an armed camp. Nor was Austria unassisted in such a policy of repression. She had the support and sympathy of the 'Holy Alliance' in case of any revolutionary out-bursts. To put in the words of Orsi, "Austria's aim was to keep strict watch over Italy. In this work she was not alone, but was able to

count on the support of Russia and Prussia with whom she had organised the so-called Holy Alliance. Although this agreement between the three powers concluded with high sounding words of peace and justice, it was in reality a league against the so hated liberalism. The population who had lived for nearly 20 years under the influence of French revolutionary ideas was necessarily eager for innovations and it was against such aspirations as these that the Holy Alliance was directed."

The policy followed by the other re-instated powers in Italy was equally retrograde. The Papal States were ruled by a unique system of theocracy, with the help of the 'Inquisition.' The administration was corrupt and oppressive. In the south King Ferdinand followed his odious policy. He suppressed all desire for Autonomy in Sicily and granted it to Austria.

From an examination of the way in which Italy was ruled by the restored governments, it may be remarked that the various powers in Italy thoroughly failed to deal with the times. They were unaware of the fact that Napoleonic campaigns charged the Italian atmosphere with revolutionary sparks which would ignite the whole of Italy at a favourable moment. "They would not realise that the regime of French rule had wafted a breath of new life and had swept away the old abuse." The new idea of Italian unity is another factor the restored governments failed to reckon with. Thus the repression of the restored governments, the hostility to Austrian rule and the desire for national independence furnish the causes for the Italian Revolution. The Italian discontent manifested itself in various revolts which were all put down by the sword of Austria, each failure, instead of discouraging the Italians, only gave them enough of courage and prudence. Secret societies, such as Carbonari, were formed for the formation and execution of plots. Thus coming down to 1831, we find Charles Albert Emanuel succeeding to the throne of Piedmont. Shortly after, he received a spirited anonymous letter exhorting him to take up the cause of Italy, and form an Italian monarchy. The author of this letter was a young man of spirit and patriotism called Mazzini. The only result of this appeal was the expulsion of Mazzini from Piedmont. Mazzini, leaving North Italy came to Central Italy and formed a society of young men called 'Young Italy.' He declared that only through unity could Italian Nationality be possible and his merit lies in having inspired

a large number of young men with the same idea, at a time when provincial jealousies and separatist feelings were rife.

Enthusiasts of Mazzini set down as an unquestionable fact that but for Mazzini there could no longer have been an independent Italy. But this seems to be extremely hypothetical. "The ideas of Italian unity and independence were not born with Mazzini. In the distant past, there had been Dante and Reinzi. In the immediate past there had been the French Revolution, Napoleon, Romanticism. Romanticism has been called the starting point of the modern political schools in Italy, the precursor alike of 'Young Italy' and the 'Moderates'" (*Vide* Introduction to Mazzini's 'Duties of Man.') It may be that Italy would not have been United into a single kingdom. But one thing is certain that Italy would not have continued under Austrian domination, even in the absence of the teachings of Mazzini. It is to be remembered that the public feeling in Italy was embittered against the despotism of restored governments—more especially of Austria. Also it is possible that in consonance with the ideal of Cavour, Italy, after freeing herself from Austria, would have become divided into three kingdoms, one in the North, another in the centre and a third in the South.

As a result of Mazzini's teachings various revolts took place which were all quelled. Mazzini fled to England where, by his writings, he unceasingly worked for the cause of Italy. Among the other public workers was one exiled to America called Garibaldi, another leader of the Italian cause.

We need not enumerate all the petty plots down to the revolt of 1849 which is sometimes called the first war of Italian Independence. On the death of Pope Gregory XVI Austria elected its creature to the Papal throne in contradiction to the desire of the cardinals to elect Pius IX. This unwarranted interference on the part of Austria resulted in protests everywhere; and especially in the Austrian dominion of Milan which was put down with a high hand. This gave rise to a war between Milan and Austria and the latter was forced to give up Milan. The rest of Lombardy and Venetia flew to arms, the Austrian garrisons were expelled and republics were set up. In Rome, though Pope Pius was elected, he was deposed and a republic was set up. The deposed Pope had called upon Napoleon III for help who, making a joint cause with the Austrians, invaded

Italy with the result that Austria's power was re-established in Lombardy and Venice and Pope was replaced in Papal dominions.

Ever since the event of 1849 the Italian Revolutionist party had enlisted the sympathy of Charles Albert Duke of Piedmont. Cavour his Prime Minister was also inclined to sweep away Austria and Spain out of Italy.

The Italian question was for a time forgotten in the turmoil caused by the Crimean war in which the armies of Piedmont had played a distinguished part and enlisted the sympathy of European powers concerned in the Crimean war, and the Italian question was publicly discussed at Paris in 1856.

Austria began to feel her weakness of rule by camp. She knew that Italian question was attracting the powers of Europe. To recompense her folly she put a stop to her rule by camp and gave her Italian subjects a constitution. But this only served to embitter them.

In the meanwhile the restored governments after 1849 were becoming more unpopular. Charles V of Parma had abdicated in favour of his son a drunken libertine who was assassinated in 1854 and, seeing the irrepressible discontent of the subjects, Austrian troops evacuated the Duchy.

At this time a Nationalist Party was formed in Italy to drive the foreigners and to place Italy under the House of Savoy. But Cavour, who countenanced this idea, knew the seriousness of the task and that her resources unassisted by any other power, were insufficient to meet the situation. Therefore he secured the help of Napoleon III on the agreement that, in exchange for French help, Savoy and Nice would be ceded to France.

In the war that followed in 1859, Garibaldi played an important part. A peace was concluded by which Austria ceded Lombardy to Piedmont, only Venetia was retained by Austria and it was to be governed by liberal methods. In Tuscany a similar scene was enacted. The Duke of Tuscany, refusing to accept the invitation of the Duke of Savoy to join with Piedmont in the late war, fell a victim to popular fury and had to abandon Tuscany. Now almost the whole of North Italy was cleared off the Austrian foreigner. The only possession under Austria was Venetia and Sicily.

Thus after the expulsion of Austria it was determined to follow a similar policy against Ferdinand of Naples. But the real difficulty lay in central Italy with the Pope at its head. The Pope was restored to his throne by Napoleon III, and before dethroning the Pope, Napoleon had to be reckoned with. The question of Italian unity came before Napoleon who, though opposed to the movement, realised its strength and resolved to turn it to his advantage. An agreement was come to and as the price of Napoleon's consent for annexing Papal dominions [to Piedmont he was to receive Savoy and Nice.

But this moment for Italian unity was accelerated by a rebellion caused by intolerance of Austria in Sicily. The rebels appealed to Garibaldi who, in response to their appeal, came to Sicily; and success crowned everyone of his efforts there. Proclaiming himself as the dictator of Sicily, in the name of King Emanuel (son of Charles Albert) he crossed to Naples and the Bourbons in Calabria, afraid of the strength of Garibaldians, abdicated. From Naples Garibaldi marched to Rome but was kept at bay for a while by the Papal troops. Meanwhile King Emanuel advanced to Rome from the North and defeating the partisans of the Pope entered Rome at the same time as Garibaldi. Garibaldi met the King, surrendered his power and, refusing the honours conferred on him retired into private life. The Italian Parliament met at Turin in 1861 and Victor Emanuel was proclaimed King of Italy. The new kingdom was recognised by England, France and other powers subsequently. It included the whole Peninsula except Venetia which in 1866 was ceded to Italy through the pressure of Prussia on Austria. Rome was made the Capital of the Kingdom in 1873.

"Italy is crushed but her heart still beats for the love of Italy; she is chained but she still knows her strength and future destiny." Scarcely had 30 years elapsed, before the prophesy of Sismondi in 1831 was fulfilled.

Kashinath Trimbak Telang—A Study.

By Mr. ABINASH CHANDRA GHOSH, B. A.

F the few noted Indians who may justly be called representatives of their age, and whose many-sided activities have considerably added to the material and moral advancement of the country during an eventful period of the British rule in India when the blessings of English education were fully appreciated by the people, the name of Kashinath Trimbak Telang is still held in high esteem by the many who knew him both in and out of India. Though time has enveloped in mist the memories of that great personage yet what we could glean from the writings and speeches of his contemporaries some of whom are still influencing public opinion by their powerful activities, would it is hoped, be an interesting reading to the many who live outside the Presidency of Bombay where the subject of our memoir principally lived and worked. The appreciation of a good character and a noble life, such as that of Mr. Telang, is, after all, to realize

"That men may raise on the stepping stones
Of their dead selves to higher things."

The life that Kashinath lived was devoid of any striking incident. He was not even forty when he rose to the highest official position to which an Indian can aspire, by sheer dint of that rare combination of talents and qualities which make genius. Of him nothing can be more truly said than that

"In joys, in griefs, in triumphs, in retreat
Great always without aiming to be great."

Mr. Telang was descended from a family which though considered as a middle-class one from a long time past occupied the very apex of the social pyramid of the Hindus in the Bombay Presidency. The ancestral home of Mr. Telang lay somewhere at Thana—a place few miles off from Bombay. But marriage and other considerations made the family to move on permanently to Bombay in the early part of the present century. His grandfather was a clerk in the celebrated firm of Messrs. Forbes & Co., and Kashinath was born of his second son in 1850 and adopted by his eldest uncle Trimbak Rao, whose name he took. He passed through the ordinary school and college course with much distinction, and on taking his Degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1867, was appointed Fellow of the Elphinstone College, a position which he held until 1872. During this time he studied hard, took the Degrees of Master in Arts and Bachelor in Law, acquired a high proficiency in Sanskrit, and finally, having passed the Advocate's Examination of the High Court, set up his practice at the bar. The years that he had spent at college he had utilised to the best advantage. He had not confined himself to the narrow and prescribed limits of the university course, but while never losing sight of the requirements of the examinations or inattentive to the lectures of his professors he thought himself at liberty to employ his spare hours, of which he had many, in reading the immortal classics of the English language, which had already become his favourite study. By the time he left college he was thoroughly familiar with the writings of the great English and continental authors through translations into English. Shakespeare which has delighted so many generations of Englishmen and Englishwomen, he almost knew by heart, and he used a very

large number of Shakesperian idioms and expressions in all that he said and wrote. Possessed of a memory which was equally tenacious and capacious, he had seldom to traverse the same ground twice and the range of his information thus became extensive. He formed his own style on the model of his favourite authors and his youthful composition excited the interest and attracted attention of the Principal and Professors of his *Alma Mater*. He left his college with the reputation of being well grounded in literature and law and having a quickness of grasp and calibre of mind, rare even amongst the most highly intellectual race to which he belonged. In the High Court he had his struggles and his moments of depression, and he had to fight every inch of ground in that uphill journey which brought him at last in sight of the promised land. But he took care not to waste these precious years of youth and early manhood when health and energies were fresh and he laid up during that trying period that stock of legal knowledge which later on commanded the admiration and brought him to the highest pinnacle of material success. His knowledge of Hindu Law was recognised to be profound, and in this he was much aided by his Sanskrit lore. Those who have seen him at the bar declare with one voice that he was an admirable advocate who could state his law in a way that even the dullest judge could not fail to understand. He had not been long in the profession when his talents were recognised and he was offered a Subordinate Judgeship in 1880, but fortunately for the country he declined the offer. Greater honours were in store for him, for in 1889 at the pressing request of the then Governor, he was raised to the Bench of the High Court, an appointment unanimously approved both by his countrymen and the European population of Bombay. But shattered as his health was at the time he could not be long on the Bench though he proved himself fully worthy of the reputation by which he gained it.

Mr. Telang was, however, far from being absorbed in his profession. He flung himself with energy into the performance of the many duties that devolve on the good citizen. In 1884 he was appointed a member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, and remained in that capacity, until he was raised to the Bench. The seat of the Bombay Presidency on the Viceroy's Council was offered to him, but he had to decline the honour on the ground of much professional work. He was created a Fellow of the University of Bombay in 1877, was elected a member of the Syndicate in 1881, and was eventually nominated Vice-Chancellor in 1892. But his interest in and work for education was not confined to the four walls of the Senate House. In 1880 he was appointed a member of the Education Commission which overhauled the Department of Public Instruction throughout India in all its branches; and so thorough was his task that he embodied his views in a separate minute, which the President of the Commission declared to be most valuable at the time for the purpose of drawing up his report. The signal service thus rendered to the cause of education in India won for him the honour of the Companionship of the Indian Empire.

The principal trait in the character of Mr. Telang was his sturdy independence which most endeared him to the silent millions of his fellow-countrymen. No bigoted fire-brand, no disappointed place-hunter with a grievance, on the contrary, the friend and trusted adviser of governors and councillors, with wealth and honours and troops of friends, he was ever the incorruptible patriot—the sturdy champion of the lawful demands of his fellow-citizens. In this respect he stands out to young India as an exemplar of independence, not the crabbed, soured inde-

pendence that refuses to look fairly on any side, but the honest and equal-minded independence that praises what is good, and reprobates what is bad, wherever found.

Mention has already been made of Mr. Telang as a Sanskrit scholar. His papers on the *Ramayana* and the *Bhagavad Gita* and his English translation of the latter gained for him a European reputation. He was a voluminous writer not only on Sanskrit literature, but also on antiquities, political economy, political history and Maratha literature and history, in all of which he displayed an originality that was singularly his own. The first fruit of his labours in the field of Maratha history will be found in his interesting "gleanings from Maratha chronicles," with which the series of lectures delivered in connection with the Deccan College were opened in 1892. It must be said here that in recognition of his oriental scholarship, he was chosen to succeed Sir Raymond West as President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

As a speaker Mr. Telang first made his mark during the Ilbert Bill Controversy. There was a public meeting held in the city of Bombay to memorialise the Government in the matter from the Indian point of view. Equality before the Law, as enjoined by the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, were the two principal points elaborated. The principal speakers at that historical meeting were the then Triumvirate of Bombay politicians—Messrs. Budruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Telang. That was a memorable meeting for those who attended it, and still more memorable for the remarkably well argued out and sober speeches made thereat—speeches which might have been heard from the most practised debater in a Select Committee of the House of Commons. Mr. Telang's speech was one sustained stream of consummate reasoning. It was then for the first time revealed what powers of popular oratory Mr. Telang possessed. A calmer and a more solid piece of forensic ratiocination in the midst of the fiery whirlwind of passion and prejudice raging outside the Presidency was never heard before. There was none of the legal casuistry which members of the Bar attributed to him in his later days, and which was alleged to be not absent in some of his pronouncements from the Bench after his elevation there. He had none of the rhetorical gestures of the trained orator, and none of the declamatory spirit. In the estimation of one of his greatest friends Mr. (now Sir) D. E. Wacha "it was like a stream meandering in its onward course at an even measure or rhythm, but never swelling to that roar and force which is inseparable from the waters of a great river in her rapid onward course towards the infinite sea." In fact, he reasoned with marvellous clearness and lucidity, straight and unflinchingly to his conclusion, and played upon the moods of an intellectual audience with the skill of a musician upon a familiar instrument. His wit was quite gallic in its delicacy, and lost nothing in effect by being absolutely free from vulgarity. His English style possessed a full measure of that *curiosa felicitas* which he himself attributed to Lord Lytton. This last trait was all the more remarkable when we remember not only that Mr. Telang spoke in an adopted language, but that he made no attempt to elaborate his speeches beforehand. In and out of India at the time there was a feeling of appreciation amongst all classes of Europeans for the consummate statesmanship and the marvel of coolness displayed by Mr. Telang and his colleagues in their speeches over a controversial matter which made Anglo-Indians rabid at the seat of Government and look small for the example they had set. Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), when presented with an address for the many sterling services he had rendered to the country in his capacity as Finance Minister by the deputation which waited on him at "Bella Vista" in September 1883, spoke out

significantly that he had learned to regard "the public opinion of Bombay as expressive, perhaps, of the best type of political thought in India. It was understood at the time that this appreciative sentiment had reference to the sobriety and ability with which the great historical meeting on the Ilbert Bill was conducted.

Regarding the great controversy that raged over the Ilbert Bill it will not be out of place to make an extract from a speech on the subject in which he tackled Sir Fitz-James Stephen and his "gospel of force."

"His first proposition, not first in order in his letter but first in importance, is that the policy of Lord Ripon's Government is shifting the foundations of British power in this country, or, to use his own expression, is inconsistent with the foundations on which British power rests. Now, I deny this entirely. I say that the principles of Lord Ripon's administration, as pointed out in our memorial, are in consonance with the long-established principles of the British Government as laid down by Parliament and the Crown. And I say further, that those principles are in accord with the lessons to be derived from the study of past history. I remember being struck many years ago, in reading the history of the Romans under the Empire, with a passage in which the author said that one great lesson to be deduced from the history of Rome was that all conquering nations, in order to render their Government in the conquered countries stable and paramount, must divest themselves of their peculiar privileges by sharing them with the conquered peoples. Now, gentlemen, we all know that it is the proud and just boast of Englishmen that they are the Romans of the modern world, and that the British Empire is in modern days what the Roman Empire was in ancient times. If so, are we wrong, are we unreasonable in asking that the lessons of Roman history, and as Mr. Merivale points out, the lessons of the history of other ancient Governments also, should be adopted by our British rulers? Is it not quite proper and reasonable for us to ask that the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Gladstone and John Bright, should not only adopt those lessons but improve upon them, and rise superior to the countrymen of Marius and Sulla, the triumvirs and Caesar? I venture to say, gentlemen, that if Britons are now content to fail to carry out those lessons and to fall short of the generosity of the Romans, it will be regarded as not creditable to them by the future historian. And as a loyal subject of the British Government I should be sorry for such a result." The above though referring to the "Liberalism" of Lord Ripon gives a clear solution of the difficulty which confronted Government at the time.

But those for which Mr. Telang was held in high esteem by that smaller circle that had the privilege of his friendship and acquaintance were his social qualities and domestic virtues. In his case the two terms were identical; for he was one of those rare men whom to know was to think of as a friend. It is indeed true that men may come and go, but their places are very often filled up by others equally able and useful. In political life, in the official sphere, in the busy mart, in club or coterie, the best man drops out, and, if not wiped out of the memory, is at least not missed. A new leader, a new colleague, a new servant carries on the work. But it very often happens, that in the inner circle of friendship and the innermost of the family, the void is not so easily filled. In devotion to parents, wife and children, he was not outstripped by the pious *Aeneas* himself. It was this all-absorbing sentiment that led to what was, in the opinion of many, the one discordant trait in his character. But before attempting to analyse it, it would certainly not be out of place to consider his attitude in the matter of Hindu social

reform. Like many other social reformers who had approached the subject with a spirit of utmost toleration and humbleness, he had well considered the difficulties which beset the path of those who were similarly anxious to ameliorate the prevalent social condition of the Hindu community. The Himalayas had to be scaled. But the way was long and beset with formidable difficulties at every stage. Obstacles of an insurmountable character presented themselves from all sides. No doubt the law of the universe is progress. But it is also true that progress is slow and by degrees from precedent to precedent. Social progress like every other mode of motion, has its appropriate rhythm, its epoch of severe restraints followed by epochs of rebellious licenses as history bears out so eloquently. It is no wonder, therefore, that the progress of social reform in Hindu society with its deep-rooted conservatism of ages, its traditions and superstitions, must be incredibly slower than in other countries. Mr. Telang did not belong to the order of the social quack who prescribes salves and washes with bluster as remedies for social evils and had no sympathy with the militant propagandists who were so eager to have certain questions of Hindu social life settled all in a trice by legislation. The work of centuries cannot be crowded into a few years. Mr. Telang knew this very well and acted as a stalwart Puritan with hopefulness inscribed on his standard of social reform. Now to the incident in Mr. Telang's life which is characterised as jarring to the views he held of social reform in India. It was a great shock to many when he consented to the marriage of his daughters at a prematurely early age. For a man of Telang's intellectual temperament it needed perhaps more courage to go back ever so little upon his own career than to refuse the request of a wife suffering from a malady from which she never recovered, and perhaps the premonitions of his own early call. He had the highest regard for his own family circle, and great though he was he had not the power to ride roughshod over their feelings. Call it a weakness if you please, but it must be said that it always leaned on virtue's side. An incident characterising his attachment to the domestic circle may perhaps prove interesting to the readers. Mr. John Adam, late Principal of Pachchyappa's College, Madras, had an interview with him at his place in Bombay sometime before his death. He was then suffering acutely from a painful complaint which there was every hope that a comparatively simple surgical operation would cure completely. Mr. Adam suggested to him that he should not shrink from so easy an ordeal. To this he replied, "Ah! if it were only myself, the Doctors could do what they like with me to-morrow. But my old father"—adopted father it should be remembered—"and mother have the most inveterate objection to the slightest use of the knife, to the shedding of a drop of blood, while they live—if I do not go first I shall never act against their wishes. You will probably think me a fool," he added, "but after all I am a Hindu of the old stock; and I can no more help being that than you can help being a Scotsman." Such was the love which Mr. Telang bore towards the family of his adoption, and this only accounted for his diversion from the life-long principles he had inculcated in the matter of social reform in India.

The death of Kashinath Trimbak Telang was looked upon as a public calamity all over India. The general feeling at the time was that a great man had been taken away from the scene of public life in Bombay. Indeed there are not a dozen men in all India to compare with him in his virtues—social, political and moral; he was not only a learned judge and an eminent scholar but was also a sober politician and an infallible guide and adviser. Though his voice—so calm, so faithful, so full of hope—is now hushed in the silence of death yet the message of his life, sacred and binding as it is, cannot be lost on the people in whose cause he suffered and fought so strenuously during the best part of his brief career on this side of the grave.

The Mysore Representative Assembly.

By Mr. G. RANGA RAJU.

History of the Assembly.

THE Mysore Representative Assembly is unique in its historic significance, as it has the proud distinction of being the first institution of its kind in India under the British Aegis. Soon after the Rendition of Mysore, Mr. C. Ranga Charlu, an eminent statesman of extraordinary ability and tact, brought into being the Assembly in 1881, four years prior to the birth of the Indian National Congress. The then ruling Maharajah Sri Chamarajendra Woodeyar issued his proclamation in which he said.

" Such an arrangement by bringing the people in immediate communication with the Government would serve to remove from their minds any misapprehension in regard to the views and action of the Government and would convince them that the interests of the Government are identical with those of the people."

In the first session of the Assembly, two landlords from each taluk and four leading merchants from each district—altogether a total of 144 were present. The elective principle which has gained full ground now, was kept in abeyance in the beginning and the representatives were "nominated" by the Government.

In the second session in 1882, Mr. Ranga Charlu, dwelt in his address, on the importance of local self-government and advised the people to take a keener interest in the administration of the country. He said with a prophetic vision thus :

"If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted as a *sine qua non*, we have to wait for ever. Meanwhile, under an autocratic system of Government, we find the people less fit for representative institutions. The real education for self-government can only be acquired by the practical exercise of representative functions and responsibilities." At the same time, he warned the people against the defect of the working of representative bodies, namely "a tendency to fall into apathy and the growth of factious spirit."

The Representative Assembly entered a new base of life when Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, an administrator of great insight, prudence and experience succeeded Mr. Ranga Charlu as Dewan in 1883. The elective principle came to prominence and a wholly nominated body became a true Representative Assembly, elected by the people. As the opportunities of the assembly and its constitution became broadened, the Executive began to

look on it with green eyes, just as the Congress came under the official surveillance after 1890. Members who were outspoken in expressing their grievances were often ludicrously snubbed by officials. It was during that trying period, that members of the Assembly gained a firm footing and importance and acquired the qualities most essential in popular institutions—moderation, patience and perseverance. Lord Dufferin, when he visited Mysore in 1886, said "I am glad to see around me and I am pleased to think that the Maharajah should have called to his Counsellors men of such intelligence, influence and authority. I am sure both His Highness and the State will derive equal profit from your assistance."

The course of the development of the Assembly ran on steady lines in the long interim before the advent of Sir M. Visveswariah. Sir P. N. Krishnamurthi, the successor of Sir Seshadri, was very resourceful in his well-meant ideas, such as giving power to the Assembly to frame the budget according to popular requirements, but was greatly at a loss to translate them into the realm of practical politics which is always the unhappy crux of statesmanship. But at this period, the Assembly worked with great harmony with the Executive. With the accession of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, a narrow spirit of particularistic feeling emerged in the public life of Mysore and the cry of "Mysore for the Mysoreans" began rending the skies. The bad blood stirred up by the intrigues of a few discontented place hunters resulted in a frightful apathy between Mysoreans and non-Mysoreans. The Representative Assembly had to pass through these lean years of fierce strife from this want of sympathy with the aspirations of the people from the official quarters, which was somewhat studded then with non-Mysoreans. More than this, Mr. Madhava Rao had his own views about popular Government, (let us ignore in this connection, his present changed angles of vision), as could be evidenced by the fact that he enacted stringent 'Press laws' to choke public opinion. Under the régime of Mr. Ananda Rao, his successor, the Representative Assembly gained much experience in administrative matters. Chequered as its career was, the uncongenial atmosphere was not detrimental to its interests in a sense, for the educative incentive it had received and the spirit of united opposition it had developed, would not have sprung up in environment of hollow flattery and ready patronage.

The marvellous progress, which Mysore has made and is now making—decidedly evolutionary, and not "catastrophic"—under the guidance of a remarkably many-sided genius, the Engineer-statesman, Sir M. Visveswariah, and the enlightened and popular ruler Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar, a Maharajah of great democratic leaning and zealous persistence to raise the general status of his loving subjects, has, nonetheless, been shared by the Representative Assembly. The historic Rescript of the 9th October, 1916, gave the Assembly probouleatic functions in an

additional sitting, *i. e.*, two sessions, one in April and another in Dasara, instead of one. It must be remembered here that power was not thrust on the Assembly, but it was the inevitable response for the quickening impulse and the conscious willingness of the members, to learn a greater share of public responsibility.

The Representative Assembly met on the 23rd of April, 1917, in an additional sitting and transacted the business in a novel manner, which will foster in a greater measure, the active co-operation of the members and the usefulness of the Assembly. Many sub-committees were formed on the first day and their decisions were placed before the Dewan later, on these subjects: (1) Income-tax—its advisability or otherwise for levying. (2) Relation of Inamdars and Tenants. (3) Improvements of tanks and channels. (4) Control of secondary and lower technical education. (5) Adult compulsory education. (6) Separation of judicial and executive functions. The great point about the deliberations of the members on such matters, involving important issues, is that most of them are ignorant of the English language, their point of view is Indian to the core, and their judgments very sober and well-considered. Their advice will help the officials to no small extent, as they are likely to become warped at times, for they are the "Haves" of power. The State budget for 1917-18 was also placed for consideration before the Assembly, even before it came before the Legislative Council. By this, the Assembly was distinctly raised in status and importance and the members would not hereafter feel that their function was one of mere representation of grievances and wants. In the words of Mr. Balakrishna Rao, a leading representative, the grant of the right to discuss the budget "is only a fore-runner of the grant of more privileges and rights and that in the fulness of time, the Assembly will, under the fostering care of His Highness, become a democratic house with rights of voting on the budget." Some of the influential representatives undertook in this session to study certain questions of great provincial interest and place their views before the Government for consideration.

The Dasara Address of the Dewan to the Representative Assembly, this year was illuminating as usual, breathing the spirit of Platonic idealism, not unmixed with a keen eye for practicality. He said:

"The essential duties of a citizen according to this new view of life should be formulated by Committees of trusted leaders. Books, pamphlets, and leaflets, embodying these essentials should be widely circulated in accordance with an approved propaganda."

"The end and aim of our activities should be to increase wealth and production, to strengthen and encourage habits and practices among our people, which are already found to be good, to correct wrong popular beliefs and to place before them sound ideals based on the experience of

progressive nations ; in other words to prepare a prosperous, energetic, alert and enterprising population."

Constitution of the Assembly and its functions.

A word or two may be said about the constitution and functions. The Assembly is wholly an elective body having the property qualification as the basis for the franchise. The deliberations are entirely transacted in Kannada—the language of the land. Votes are taken on highly controversial matters. The members send their grievances or suggestions for improvements of the existing state of affairs, in the form of "Representations" sometime before the meeting of the Assembly. The member in charge of a representation is called upon by the Dewan, when the Assembly meets to speak. At the end of the mover's speech he "notes" the matter and places it afterwards before His Highness for final orders. Supplementary questions either by the movers of the representations or from other members on the same subject, are not permitted to be asked. In matters concerning the State finances, the policy of "After death, the doctor" was pursued till very recently. The State budget which was usually sanctioned by His Highness' Government in the month of June of every year was placed before the Assembly in September or October of that year for formality. But now, when the Assembly is given the enviable privilege of an additional session, in April, rough figures under the different heads of State expenditure are placed for consideration and suggestions either for increasing or retrenching the amounts are welcomed by the Dewan although no voting is allowed. Though this way of procedure, is a feeble constitutional check on an Executive, which tries to assume the rôle of a centralised despotism, that need not engage much of our attention in a progressive State like Mysore, where the interests of the rulers and the ruled are nearly identical and where there is great sympathy and co-operation between the officials and non-officials. In evidence of this fact, the extract from the Dewan's address to the Assembly this year, is worthy of citation:

"The State has a claim for service from every one of us. In assisting in these developments, we shall be helping our society and environment which will make the future generations of our countrymen fuller and happier than our own. We shall be handing over an improved world to our children and children's children.

"This spirit of service should become universal. Where communal work is the object castes and creeds should not be allowed to divide us. The co-operation of every citizen is needed according to his position, capacity and opportunities."

Though the representations made by the masses through their accredited representatives are not readily put to practice either for financial or other reasons, the Representative Assembly must not be considered

as a farce, as it is done by some narrow-minded, cold, judicial critics who forget that the very existence of a popular body and its united opposition wields an influence of a potent moral nature, which cannot be easily slighted away by any conscientious and principled administrator. It is nothing more than a question of time for the Assembly to become a typical "lower house."

Its lessons.

The Mysore Representative Assembly has also an Indian interest apart from its parochial importance. The success of the institution is a plausible argument which could be thrown in the teeth of the Anti-home-rulers for India. "The steady association of the people with the administration of their own affairs involving mutual trust and sympathy, removes many of the worst drawbacks of foreign rule. The absence of a veritable alien bureaucracy with its enlightened self-interest, outliving its usefulness and a statute-written constitution, "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for modern purposes" as in British India, has promoted in Mysore, the growth of a popular Assembly which brings into direct contact, the rulers and the ruled. Again the absence of the exclusion of the educated classes from footings of trust and responsibility as in British India—the work of an immortal bureaucracy—created in Mysore a healthy rivalry and co-operation, genuine interest in the welfare of the Motherland and transparent confidence of the masses on the popular leaders who are entrusted by Providence with a mysterious responsibility.

John Stuart Mill, in his remarkable brochure on "Representative Government" says: "A free country which attempts to govern a distant dependency, inhabited by a dissimilar people, by means of a branch of its own executive, will almost inevitably fail. The only mode which has any chance of tolerable success is to govern through a fully delegated body of a comparatively permanent character, allowing only a right of inspection and negative voice to the changeable administration of the State. Such a body did exist in the case of India and I fear that both India and England will pay a severe penalty for the short-sighted policy by which the intermediate instrument of Government was done away with.....A delegated administration has always this advantage over a direct one, that it has at all events, no duty to perform except that of the governed. It has no interest to consider except theirs." The Mysore Representative Assembly is a remarkable commentary on the words of that great political thinker and it conclusively proves to the world that Indians when left to themselves will show phenomenal progress in all departments of life.

On an Ancient Indian Custom.

By Mr. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., B.L.

WHEN Anāthapindikā or Anāthapindada, who was a very rich lay devotee of Lord Buddha and renowned for his charity, wanted to buy from the heir-apparent Jēta his garden with its beautiful groves and streamlets of limpid water for building thereon a *vihāra* for the fraternity of the Blessed One, the latter, at first, refused to sell it as he set great store by it. Then he said: "If you can cover it with gold, then, and for no other price, shall you have it." Hearing this, Anāthapindikā was greatly delighted and commenced spreading his gold on the ground. Thereupon Jēta said: "Don't spread the gold for I will not sell it." But the former having insisted on buying it, they quarrelled and quarrelled until they resorted to the magistrate. But, at last, they amicably settled the dispute. Jēta accepted only one-half of the gold and, addressing Anāthapindikā, said: "Yours is the land but mine are the trees. I will give the trees as my share of the offering to Buddha."

Then Anāthapindikā accepted the land and Jēta the trees, and they settled them in trust of Shāriputra, one of Buddha's principal disciples. Thereafter they laid the foundation of the *vihāra* and began to build it. The hall of the monastery, which was built according to the Blessed One's directions, rose up rapidly and was beautifully adorned with suitable carvings. When this *vihāra* was completed, it was called Jētavana.

Then Anāthapindikā invited the Lord Buddha to come over to Shrāvastī, the capital of Northern Kōsala, and receive the gift of the Jētavana *vihāra*. Accepting the invitation, the Blessed One came over from Kapilavastu to Shrāvastī. While Lord Buddha entered Jētavana, the donor Anāthapindikā strewed flowers and burnt incense, and, as a token of the donation he was making, poured water from a golden dragon pitcher, saying: "This Jētavana *vihāra* I give for the use of the brotherhood throughout the world."

Lord Buddha accepted the donation saying: "May all evil influences be overcome, may the offering promote the kingdom of righteousness and be a permanent blessing to mankind in general and especially also to the giver."

Now, a representation of this scene of Anāthapindikā's famous donation of the Jētavana *vihāra* to Lord Buddha is carved on a railing of the Bhārata Stūpa.

Now this Stūpa, which is situated exactly 120 miles to the south-west of Allahabad, is a Buddhist monument richly adorned with innumerable sculptures depicting Buddhist legendary lore and history. Sir Alexander Cunningham says that the probable age of this famous Stūpa is *circa* 250—200 B. C.*

In this carving, the donor Anāthapindikā is represented as standing in the middle of the Jētavana grove, and pouring water from a pitcher upon the ground. Beneath this carving is the undernoted inscription in Pāli :—

“अनाथपिण्डिक जेतवनो देति कोटि संयतेन केता ।”

or

"Anāthapindikā, having spread one *kror* of coins upon the ground, is making a gift of the land covered thereby."

* The Stūpa of Bharhut. By Alexander Cunningham, C. S. I., C. I. E., London : W. H. Allen & Co., 1879, p. 14,

With reference to the sculptured illustration of this famous scene, Sir Alexander Cunningham, the *doyen* of Indian Archæologists, says : "The only utensil that is specially noticeable in the Bharhut sculptures is the water vessel which plays an important part in many of the Buddhist legends, as a gift was made irrevocable by the donor pouring water over the hands of the donee. In the bas-relief of Jêtavana Monastery, the donor Anâthapindika stands with his water vessel, in the midst of the garden, ready to ratify his gift by pouring water over the hands of Buddha. (Vide Plate LVII.)" *

Now this shows that, in Ancient India, there existed the custom of the donors pouring out water upon the ground when they made donations of lands or endowed temples and the like. This custom was invariably followed by Rājās and petty chieftains when they made such donations and endowments. This is amply proved by the testimony of numerous copper-plate grants which have been discovered throughout Northern India.

For instance, in the 283rd year of the Gupta Era, Sivarāja, a chieftain subordinate to Sagguyaya, King of South Tosali (the ancient name of Orissa) donated a village named Tandravalu to certain Brāhmanas by means of a copper-plate grant. Now this charter contains the following passages. †

७. * * * विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा—
 ८. —सू विषय सम्बद्ध तण्डलवलुग्राम वोर्त्तनोकाबवास गेहसोऽ
 स्माभिः मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्या—
 ९. —भिवृद्धये सलिलधारापूर्वकं आचन्द्राकं समकालाद्यं नीवी-
 धर्मेण नानागोचू—
 १०. —चरणेभ्यः अनुरुद्धस्वामि * * *
 ११. * * * पम्बस्ताम्र—
 १६. —पट्टीकृत्य संप्रदत्तः ।

Translation.

Be it known to you that, for increasing the merit of (my) father and mother, as also of myself, the village named Tandravalu is granted (from Borttanoka) by means of this copper-plate charter to Anuruddhaswāmi and other Brāhmanas belonging to different *gotras* and *charanas*, according to *Nibidharma*, after having poured out water with due rites. As long as the sun and the moon will remain, so long will this donation last intact.

In the 9th line of the foregoing passages, the words सलिलधारापूर्वकं, meaning "after having poured out water," occur.

Then again, in the 69th line of the Alina Copper-plate Grant of Silāditya VII., King of Vallabhi, the words उदकातिसर्गर्णे ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितः are to be found. Similarly, in the 10th line of the Arang Grant of Jayamahārāja, and in the 24th line of the Rajima Grant of Tivaradeva, the word उदकपूर्व, which means "after having poured out water," occurs. † All these passages prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, the existence of the aforementioned custom.

To come down to later times, we find that the said custom also existed in the 12th century A. D. In the Maner Copper-plate Grant of King Govindachandra

* *Op. cit.*, pp. 125—126.

† Vide the *Bangiya-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, vol. XIV., (for 1314 B.S.), pp. 208—9.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 207-8.

Deva of Kanouj, which is dated 1126 A. D., the following passages are to be found :— *

१६. * * * मातापित्रोऽत्मनश्च पु—

१७. —एय यशोभिवृद्धये—स्माभिर्गोकर्ण—कुशलता—पूतकरतलोदक-
पूर्वं काश्यपगोत्राय, काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवत्रिवण्य ठकुर-
शिवपौत्राय ठकुरदेवभ—

१८. —पुत्राय श्रीगणेश्वरशर्मणे ज्ञानाय चन्द्रार्क यावच्छासनीकृत्य
प्रदत्तो मत्वा यथादोयमान भागभोगकर प्रवणिकर तुरष्कदण्ड-
प्रभृति सर्वादाया—

१९. —नाश्नाविधयोभूय दास्यथेति ।

Translation.

(Be it known to you that the village mentioned above * * * was granted after careful consideration, in accordance with the order) which will last so long as the sun and the moon will exist, to the Brāhmana Thakkura Sri Ganeshtvara Sarman, son of Thakkura Dadabha, grandson of Thakkura Siva, having three pravaras, Kāsyapa Avatsāra, and Naidhrūba, of the Kāsyapa family, by us, with water from the palm of the hand which has been sanctified by touching the cow's ear and the kusa-grass for the increase of the merit and renown of (my) father and mother, as also of myself. * * * In obedience to my command you shall pay all dues as given at present, including the revenue, the duties levied upon all trades and crafts, and the Turk's duty (which is, very likely, a poll-tax levied by the Mahomedan rulers upon the Hindu subjects).

Now in the 17th line of the foregoing passages, we find the words गोकर्ण-कुशलता-पूतकरतलोदकपूर्वं which mean "with water from the palm of the hand which has been sanctified by touching the cow's ear and the kusa-grass." Here we find another additional rite, whereof the performance has been tacked on to the aforementioned custom. Here we see that, before pouring out the water upon the ground, the donor is required to touch the cow's ear and the kusa-grass and, thereby, sanctify his hands.

Then we find the prevalence of the same custom in Orissa testified to by two other copper-plate charters. The first is a grant of Tribhuvana Mahādevī (daughter of Rājā Malladeva) who, by means of it, donated the village named Kontasparā, which was situated in the district of Tosali (or modern Dhauli near Bhubanesvara) and inhabited by weavers, wine-sellers and cowherds to a Brāhman named Bhatta Jagaddhara of the Bhāradvāja gotra, who was a student of Kanya Sākha of the White Yajurveda, for the purpose of causing rain to fall. It embodies the following passages :—†

२७. भवतां एतद्विषयसम्बद्धः । कोन्तस्पराग्रामसोपरिकरः सो-
ददशः

२८. सतन्त्रवायगोकुठशौरिडकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघटनदीतरस्थाना-
दिगुल्मक सर्व्वपीडावर्जितोऽस्तेष्वनोप्रवेशतया भूमिच्छि—

२९. —द्रापिधानन्यायेन आचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनः
सर्व्वसत्त्वानाञ्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ॥

* Vide The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 441-447,
† Op. cit., pp. 419-427.

३०. भारद्वाजगोत्राय । आङ्गिरस बार्हस्पत्य । भारद्वाज प्रवरय ।
वाजसने—
३१. —यचरणाय । करवशाखाध्यायिने । वृष्टिकामनिमित्ताय ।
हस्तोदकेन
३२. भट्टाङ्गादधरय अस्माभिस्ताम्रशासनीक—
३३. —त्याक्षयनीवीधर्मैणाकरत्वे (त्व) न प्रतिपादितस्तदेवाऽस्म
हेत्तिधर्मगौरवादभवदिभः प्रतिपालनीया ॥

Translation.

Be it known to you that the village Kontasparā, appertaining to this district, with boundaries and rights, with weavers, cowherds, wine-sellers and other tenants with the rights of hunting and ferry-owners, with tolls, ferries and so forth, exempted from all imposts, on the principle of "leaving holes on earth" through which no pen can pass, so long as the sun, the moon and the earth will last, with the object of increasing the merits of (my) mother, father and (my) own self and of all (living) animals—is granted to Bhatta Jagaddhara, a student of Kanva Sākhā of the White Yajurveda, a descendant of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* with Angiras, Vārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja as his *pravaras*, for the purpose of causing rain to fall, with water in my hand and by means of a copper-plate, and in accordance with the principle of *Nividharma*.

In the 31st line of the foregoing passages, we come across the word हस्तोदकेन which means "with water in (my) hand."

The 2nd charter is that of Jayastambha Deva and his son Nidayastambha who, by means of this copper-plate grant, donated a piece of land in village Llolapura to a Brāhman named Risivaka on the occasion of a solar eclipse, as will appear from the following passages thereof:—

१३. * * * मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च
१४. पुण्याभिवृद्धेनः भटपुत्रचान्दवच्छु—
१५. —तः रिषिवकमुतावषु विनिर्गतः काश्य—
१६. —(प) गोत्राय नैध्रुवप्रवरः भारद्वाजहेण
१७. (ह) स्तोदकदत्तं सकलसमदायेन
१८. प्रतिपादितो स्माभिः राजा ताम्रशा—
१९. —(स) नं (।)

Translation.

(Be it known to you that the village Llolapura appertaining to this mandala, and with the four boundaries marked), is granted in its entirety by me, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, with water in hand, to Risivaka, son of Chāndavachha, son of Bhata, a descendant of the Kāsyapa *gotra* with Naidhruva for his *pravara*, migrating from Mutāvasu, with the object of increasing the virtues of (my) mother, father and (my) own self, (by means of this) royal copper-plate.

In the 17th line of this grant also, we find the word हस्तोदकदत्तं which means "with water in hand."

In Southern India also, the ceremony of pouring water into the hands of the acceptor of a gift in token of donation, is also performed at the present day, as is evidenced by the following Tamil proverb : "Like letting something remain for a

* Op. cit., pp. 409-412.

long time, and then pouring water on the village Paraiyan's hands (to take it away)."*

Now the curious enquirer may ask: Why is water poured out upon the ground by the donor at the time of making a gift of the land or the village? The answer to this query is not far to seek. We have already shown † that the spirit or goddess who presides over the lands or the earth—the Earth-goddess—in her capacity as the giver of sustenance, is revered and worshipped among many primitive races of people all over the world, as is evidenced by the numerous rites and ceremonies performed by them for ensuring the yield of bumper harvests, and fertility in women and cattle. It has been further shown that she was also known as the Earth-mother among many ancient nations, as she still is among many a modern race of people. Among the Nature-worshipping Aryans, she was called the *Dyaushpitar*; among the ancient Greeks, as the *Zeus-pater*, and, in later times, as *Demeter* or *Terra-mater*; among the ancient Romans, as *Bona Dea* and *Maia*; among the ancient Finns, as *Akka*—the *Grandmother Earth*; among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, as the *Mother* or *Men's Mother*; and so on. She is still worshipped under the name of *Dharitri*, *Dharti Mātā* or *Dharti Mai* among the Dravidian races of people inhabiting Central India. It was, therefore, thought in Ancient India that, before making gifts of lands or villages, it was incumbent upon the would-be donors thereof to propitiate or worship the spirit or goddess—the Earth-goddess or Earth-mother—who presides over the subject-matter of the donations. Then it was further considered as to what was the best way of propitiating or worshipping her in. As the result of careful consideration, the would-be donor hit upon the idea that the best way of propitiating or worshipping her in would be to pour out water from his own hands or from a pitcher upon the ground—in short to offer a libation of water to her. This custom of making libations of liquids by way of worshipping the Earth-mother still survives in several parts of India. For instance, in the Punjab, when a cow or she-buffalo is first bought or when she gives milk for the first time after calving, the first five jets of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall upon the ground by way of propitiatory offering to the Earth-mother; and, on every subsequent occasion that she is milked, the first stream is dealt with in the same way. In the same way when medicine is taken, the sick man takes care to sprinkle a little of it upon the ground by way of libation to her deityship.

Even among the ancient Tartars who lived in Central Asia, the same custom of making libations of milk to the Earth-mother was prevalent. We now know, from the testimony of the great mediæval traveller Marco Polo, that the renowned Kublai Khan of Chinese Tartary observed the custom of sprinkling the milk drawn from his herds of mares upon the ground. "This is done," says the great Venetian, "on the injunction of the idolators and idol-priests, who say that it is an excellent thing to sprinkle milk on the ground every 28th of August, so that the earth and the air and the false gods shall have their share of it, and the spirits likewise that inhabit the air and the earth, and thus those beings will protect and bless the Khan, and his children, and his wives, and his folk, and his gear, and his cattle, and his horses, and all that is his." ‡

* The Madras Government Museum Bulletin (Anthropology.) vol. V., No. 2, Madras: 1906. p. 89.

† Vide my article "The Worships of the Earth-mother" in *The Hindustan Review* for July 1916, pp. 47-55.

‡ *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*. Edited by Colonel H. Yule, 2 vols. London: 1871, Vol. I., p. 291; Vol. II., p. 543.

We already know from the evidence of the Maner Copper-plate Grant of Govindachandra Deva of Kanouj that, in some cases, the would-be donor was enjoined to touch the cow's ear and the *kusa* grass before making a gift of the land. It may be asked why he was required to do so. It will be very easy to answer this query if we will take into consideration the facts that the cow is the most sacred animal of the Hindus and that the *kusa* grass, being also sacred, is used in various Hindu ceremonies, and, therefore, considered as scarers of malevolent spirits and evil influences. This being so, the would-be donor purged his hands of all evil influences by touching the sacred animal and grass.

The custom of the donor's taking the *kusa* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*) in his hand at the time of making a dedicatory gift, has been in existence in India from a remote antiquity and is frequently alluded to in mediæval Hindu literature. For instance, in the mediæval Hindi drama named the *Pārijāta-Harana-Nāṭaka* by Umāpati Upādhyāya of Mithilā, the following passage* occurs which clearly alludes to the aforementioned custom :—

सत्यभामा । (कुशादिकमादाय ।) अज्ज एत्थादि
भकुं ठिअ—अज्जडत्त—चरण—भञ्जण—कामा
अज्जडत्तं णारदाय देमि । दक्खिणं च देमि ।

Translation.

Satyabhāmā (in token of dedication solemnly taking *kusa*, etc., in her hands).—To-day I, who desire to be able to worship His Majesty's (Krishna's) feet, without let or hindrance, from now give His Majesty (Krishna) as a gift to Nārada.

Lastly, there arises the question: Why, of all other acceptable offerings such as fruits, flowers, grains, sweets and the like, was water offered as a libation to the Earth-mother? The answer to this question is not far to seek. It is well known that, in the hot countries of the East, water is considered very valuable as it is indispensably necessary for allaying thirst with. In fact, the quenching of thirst is one of the most pleasant sensations that can be felt by living beings. It is for this reason that we frequently come across references to it in the English Bible (Ps. cxliii. 6; Prov. xxv. 25; etc.) In Oriental countries, every attention, which humanity and hospitality can prompt, is shewn, even at the present day, to guests and travellers in the shape of supplying them with cool waters for washing their feet with and for drinking purposes. It is said that public reservoirs or pools of water are opened in Arabia and Egypt; and, in the Mahomedan villages of Palestine, bread and water are given by the inhabitants gratuitously. In the same way, thirsty travellers with cool water, molasses and soaked gram as acts of charity and merit. If we will take into consideration these hospitable and charitable acts of alleviating the sufferings of living beings in thirsty lands, we will be able to realise the force and beauty of the following passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew :—

"And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." (Matt. x. 42).

It is because water is so valuable in the hot countries of the East, and, in some parts thereof, so difficult to be procured, that it is taken as an appropriate symbol of rich blessings. We find the vestiges of this idea in the following passages of the English Bible :—

(a) "For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." (Jer. ii. 13.)

(b) "O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord, the fountain of living waters." (Jer. xvii. 13.)

Thus water being the emblem of rich blessings, it appears to have been used in Ancient India as a fit libation to the Earth-mother.

* Vide *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for March, 1917 p. 55; p. 86.

THE Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :— A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination, —unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

The Genius of the French Nation as Reflected in Modern French Literature :

By L. VISHWANATH RAMASWAMI, B. A., B. L.

FRANCE, which has been fighting for the past three years and a half for plighted faith, international honour and the existence of smaller nationalities with a spirit undaunted by the varying successes which her armies have been achieving, unruffled by all the multitudinous horrors which Germany has requisitioned for bullying her foes into submission, unshaken in her resolve to stand by the just, the right and the true, is a picture that has evoked the sympathy and esteem of the entire world. Now at her hour of trial and tribulation (at the time of a gigantic German offensive) she echoes the cry of every son of liberty:

"Yet, freedom, yet thy banner, torn but flying,

Streams like a thunderstorm against the wind."

To many superficial people these feelings of reverence and admiration towards France were at the outbreak of the war mingled with feelings of surprise inasmuch as they had till then believed that the fickle and volatile Frenchman, so easily subject to all sudden changes of feelings, credulous and capricious, would, on any occasion of stress and

strain, float, unceasingly, like a rudderless ship on an angry ocean, from one extreme to the other, from extreme confidence, least justified by circumstances, to discouragement, the most profound. Germany, too, had likewise miscalculated and she had hoped to find France deluding herself with all kinds of agreeable phantoms of the imagination, turning her eyes away from impending disasters and thus offering herself as an easy prey to all the machinations and ambitions of Germany. Instead, the Germans had been disappointed and chagrined in that they had discovered a France poles asunder from what they had conceived her to be, calm and subdued as ever, imbued with a courage that carries everything before it and prepared to offer the most vigorous resistance possible to the oncoming German hordes and, when it should be time for it, to hurl them beyond her own frontiers. The consciousness that war was actually forced upon her and the many crimes and vandalisms committed by Germany on French soil, have, far from unnerving her in any way, only provoked her sacred ire and strengthened her in her desire to sweep injustice off the face of the earth.

"O ! Patrie ! O ! Patrie. ! ineffable mystere !

Mot sublime et terrible ! Inconcevable amour !”

[O ! Fatherland ! O ! Fatherland ! the ineffable mystery thereof !

Sublime and terrible word ! Inconceivable love !]

cries a French poet [A de Musset] in one of his poems and it is this incomprehensible love of the "Patrie" that has welded the apparently discordant elements in France into one united force, that has impelled every son of France to gird up his loins and fight out tyranny.

What is the soul of the French nation like? Is the French temperament a tangled skein of different threads difficult to analyse? What are the essentially important features of the genius of the French race—those which have enabled her to shake herself free from her apparent languor and from the many internecine dissensions that afflicted her on the eve of the war, and to rush boldly to meet the foe in spite of the consciousness that she was comparatively weaker and less prepared to fight than the advancing Germans? The French temperament is gay, sociable, extremely quick of perception and quick of sentiment and, most important of all, liberty-loving. It is this last trait of hers that has procured for her the name "Mother of civilisation" as being the land which has given birth to principles of individual and national liberty conducing to the permanent happiness of mankind. It is proposed to offer here a study of the principal authors of Modern French literature (after the Revolution of 1789) whereby we might be enabled to examine how far the peculiar characteristics of the French race are reflected in their literary achievements and thus to have a peep into the French soul. Clarity, homogeneity and simplicity, some of the

most important features of French literature, are present in the idealism of Anatole France, the morbid writings of Pierre Loti, the realism of Zola, the Titanic hammer-strokes of DeVigny and the extraordinary richness and splendour of Hugo. The excellence of English literature is of a different cast and it would be altogether in vain, except among a few Frenchified authors towards the end of the last century, to look for these qualities therein. As for the other important continental literature, the German, the opinion of Schiller :

"The Frenchman will never our model be,
No living soul speaks out of his art"

has never been given up by his successors in Germany and the peculiar qualities of excellence in French literature have almost all been taboo during the last century in Germany.

The Revolution of 1789 awoke Europe to a knowledge of herself. Its far-reaching effects were felt in every department of life. The moral Bastille in which Europe lay hitherto imprisoned was battered and destroyed. Börne, a German thinker says: "To the French philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau has been attributed the credit of having originated the French Revolution. This is as if one said that Sunday was the cause of Monday. The fact of the matter is that, as often new truths appear among men, they become evident first to the thinkers, just as the rising sun lights up the summit of the mountain, before it itself becomes evident to men in the valley. This surely will not entitle the enemies of light to plead that, but for the mountain, there would have been no day." Towards the end of the 18th century the atmosphere of Europe—and of France in particular—was permeated with ideas of equality and liberty. The actual object of the originators of the French Revolution was the instant reform of the innumerable abuses of the feudal régime and of the absolute power of the crown. The bourgeoisie and the working classes demanded civil equality and participation of the masses in all legislative assemblies. These new principles of regeneration and resuscitation so forcefully and insistently addressed to the less educated classes had roused violent passions and dangerous instincts. The working classes had been thereby led to confound their rights with their desires, liberty with license, and the horror of all oppression with hatred towards all discipline. Nor was the king strong enough to control these wild elements and pacify disaffected spirits. Possessed of a good and honest heart, his aspirations were excellent but he was feeble, irresolute and swayed by contrary winds. Lending a hearing to the subtle advice of his family relations, he thought his throne was endangered by the popular movement and summoned troops from the provinces to forcibly put the same down. Then to the menace of the bayonet was opposed the insurrection of

the multitude. Grand excesses, odious crimes and all the concomitant horrors ensued.

It was in these eventful days when time-worn ideas were being cast aside and new principles and theories were vigorously propounded and practised, when life in all its departments was receiving a general shake-up, that lived those two brilliant stars of French literature, Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël.

Chateaubriand was the precursor of the Romantic movement in France inasmuch as the love of the mysterious and the unknown and glowing descriptions of Nature figure so largely in his works. His important works are "The Genius of Christianity," "Martyrs" and "Rene." Intensely religious, his was a soul that broke all forms of intellectual bonds and soared in the pure blue of the ethereal regions. It would interest all students of English literature to know that Byron drew much of his inspiration from this author. We, in India, will also be interested to note that Torn Dutt nursed her budding intellect at this fresh fountain of liberty. Chateaubriand's intense love of Nature has produced some of the finest examples of word-painting in French literature. All the peculiar excellence of his word-painting might be gathered from the following extract from an episode in the "Martyrs" describing the martyrdom of two young Christian lovers :

"Instantly disappears the glow of the limbs of the victorious virgin. Her eyelids soon close themselves and she remains suspended in the beloved arms of her husband even as a flake of snow attached to the branches of a pine-wood tree. Enlalie, Felicity and Perpetuity, the Saintly martyrs, descended from the heavens seeking the company of the dying hero and heroine : the tiger had torn aside the ivory-white neck of the daughter of Homère. Smiling, the angel of death cuts the thread of the heroine's (Cymodocée) life. Effortlessly and sorrowlessly she heaves her last sigh. She falls like a flower destroyed by the impulse of the village on the village sod. A moment after, Eudore follows her (his wife) into the eternal abode; the sight indeed resembled one of those sacrifices where the children of Aaron offered to the God of Israel a dove and a young bull."

["Al' instant, la chaleur abandonne les membres de la vierge victorieuse; ses paupietres se ferment; elle demeure suspendue aux bras de son epoux, ainsi qu'un flocon de neige aux rameaux d'un pin. Les saintes martyres Enlalie, Felicity Perpetuë, descendent pour chercher l'âme compagne—le tigre avait brisé le con d'ivoire de la felle d' Hoinéra. L'ange de la mort coupe en souriant le fil des jours de Cymodocée. Elle exhale son deriner soupir sans effort et sans douleur : elle tombe comme une fleur que law faux de villageois vient d'abattre surule gazan. Eudore la suit un moment après dans les éternelles demeures : one ent

orne voir un de ces sacrifices ou les enfants d' Aaron offraient au Dieu d' Israël une colombe et un jeune taureau."]

Madame de Stael reminds us of our own poetess Shrimati Sarojini Naidu though the former was purely a prose author. In both we find that intimate fusion of wit, judgment, sentiment and reason, which is always the mark of greatness. In both we note the deep enthusiasm for the passionate, the sublime and the mysterious. Madame de Stael's important works are "Germany," "Corinne" and "Considerations on the French Revolution." A passionate lover of liberty she has in her last work given an impartial estimate of the passions that raged in those troublous times of the French Revolution.

Chateaubriand and Madame de Stael represent the connecting link between the previous age and the ensuing one—typical representatives of a time when the world discovered itself and civilization made a distinct and rapid move to the front. In the field of literature it was these two writers who ushered in new principles and sentiments freed from the intellectual shackles of the previous century.

The most important among their immediate successors who continued their work are Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vegny, Theophile Gautier, Lamartine, Alexander Dumas and Alfred de Musset.

Victor Hugo "not perhaps the greatest poet but the most lyrical of all poets" as the French critic Brunetiere calls him, was a prolific writer and wrote novels, poems and dramas. His life was one long struggle against all soul-killing narrowness of ideas and slavery both in politics and in literature. His inveterate opposition to the régime of Napoleon III or the "Little" (le petit) as he called him was a unique example of a determined soul protesting against the tyranny of a self-seeking adventurer who had possessed himself of the throne of France by manœuvring and deceit. The publication of that tremendous satire, "Les Chatiments," against Louis Napoleon procured for him the name "Nemesis of the Third Empire." In literature he inaugurated violent departures from accepted conventions by the publication of "Hernani." The richness of his vocabulary is unsurpassed in French literature. "Words flowed from him like light from the sun," says Mr. G. L. Strachey. The French critic M. Brunetiere says :

"Hugo does not, like Lamartine, scale the vaults of Heaven, it is not into ethereal regions that his wings transport him. He derives his inspiration not from dreams but from living reality. All that is universal he has translated with a precision of trait, vigour of relief, splendour of images, width of movement, abundance and richness of form unsurpassed in our, nay in any, language whatsoever and I doubt whether Shakespeare himself encompasses, I do not say more of sense, but more of matter in his work."

[“Hugo ne planera pas comme Lamartine, aux voutes eternelles ! ce n'est pas dans le bleu de l'espace ideal que ses ailes l'emporteront..... Il ne demandera pas ses inspirations au reve mais au contraire à la réalité vivante. Tout ce qui est universal, il l'a traduit, avec une precision de traits, une vigueur de relief, une splendeur d'images, une ampleur de mouvement, avec une abondance, une richesse, une multiplicité de formes sans égales dans notre langue—et sans superieures dans aucune, et je doute que Shakespeare ait enfermé, je ne dis pas plus de sens, mais plus de choses dans son oeuvre.”]

The richness and perspicacity of his style may be gathered from the following extract which is translated from his “Toilers of the Sea” :—

“The human body can only be an appearance. It conceals our reality. The reality is the soul. It is a common error to mistake the exterior being for the internal soul. A certain girl, for example, if one only saw what she really is, should appear to be a bird. A bird having the form of a girl, something most exquisite ! Figure to yourself that you have one in your house. This will be Deruchette. The delicious being !! One is tempted to call out to her : Good day Mademoiselle le bergeronnette (shepherd-girl), one sees not her wing but one hears the buzzing thereof. At times she sings ! Whether she prattles or sings she is more than human. The soft being is at ease in the house, that is, flits from chamber to chamber, mends her pen or braids her hair, makes all kinds of little delicate sounds and murmurs an inexplicable ineffable something into your ears. The being has something of the heavenly in her. She is a ray of joy in your darkest mood you are pleased that she is so light, so fitting, so elusive and that she has the goodness not to be invisible, she who could, if she liked, be impalpable. Here, on earth, the pretty is something necessary. There are very few functions more important than to be charming. To have a divine smile which, one knows not how, diminishes the weight of the enormous chain carried by the human race, how, think you ! should I describe it ? It is divine. This smile Deruchette had. Nay more, Deruchette was herself this smile. Something resembles us more than our visage and that is our physiognomy and something resembles us more still than our physiognomy and this is our smile. Deruchette smiling, it was Deruchette proper indeed !”

Alfred Vigny was a morose and morbid thinker who published both prose works and poems. His verse translation of Othello created as much stir in literary circles as Hugo's “Heruani.” In “Stello” he describes the horrors and excesses of Robespierre during the French Revolution. The whole philosophy of his life may be gathered from the following sentiments to which he has given expression in his works :—
“Evil alone is pure and unmixed with good; the good is always mixed with evil. It is good and salutary not to have hope; a peaceful despair without convulsions of anger is sagacity itself.”

Sadness too, is the note of the poems and writings of Alfred de Musset but he was optimistic throughout. The vigour and nobility of Byron, the emotion and pathos of Keats and the enthusiasm of Shelley are all combined in him at his best. An ardent lover of his land and a passionate Romanticist, he was one of the staunchest supporters of Hugo's views.

Lamartine was the most distinguished of Chateaubriand's imitators. "Meditations" of Lamartine came as a revelation to the world and amongst his ardent admirers was Hugo himself. Lamartine's poetry was tender, noble, pure and elevated.

Dumas, the prince of Romancers, made his debut in literature by a few dramas; but his fame mainly rests upon the numberless novels with which he electrified the middle classes of France.

George Sand's works were more works of conscious art dealing with the social evils of the times than productions of the imagination, pure and simple. As she herself says in one of her numerous prefaces to the "Indiana" her main object in writing novels was to seek out "the means of effecting the happiness and dignity of the individuals oppressed by this, our society, without modifying our society itself in any way." How is the romancer to achieve this? "Stooping down to these victims, mingling his (romancer's) tears with theirs, making himself an interpreter to the readers, but, as a prudent defender, not seeking too much to palliate the faults of his clients but at the same time addressing himself more to the clemency of the judges than to their austerity, the romancer or the novelist is indeed the advocate of those abstract beings which represent our passions and sufferings, before the tribunal of force and the jury of opinion."

[*"Le moyen de concilier le bonheur et la dignité des individus opprimés par cette même société, sans modifier la société elle-même. Penché sur les victimes, et mêlant ses larmes aux leurs, mais, comme un défenseur prudent, ne cherchant trop à pallier la faute de ses clientes, et s'adressant bien plus à la clemence des juges qu'à leur austérité; le romancier est le véritable avocat des êtres abstraits qui représentent nos passions et nos souffrances devant le tribunal de la force et le jury de l'opinion."*]

In poetry, polished and chiselled works of art were produced by the "Parnassien" school of writers of which the chief representatives were Theophile Gautier and Bandelaire. The subjects they chose were mostly classical and they revelled in gorgeous descriptions of natural scenery. Theophile Gautier at his best reminds us strongly of the English poet Swinburne.

Towards the middle of the last century there arose a school of writers in France known as the Realists or the Naturalists. Realism indulges in a minute and scientific analysis of the crimes, vices, profanity and sordid-

ness of social life, untainted by the least touch of imagination or idealism. The chief representative of this school were Balzac, Zola, Flaubert, and Guy de Maupassant. Balzac, a voluminous writer, possessed an unwieldy style and his chief work "La Comedie Humaine" is important only because it is a graphic picture of the contemporary social life of France.

Emile Zola depicted the struggle between religion as personified by the Catholic and Reason and life on the other and invariably the victory is assigned to the latter. Zola was an optimist. He dreamt of an ideal state of perfect truth and perfect justice which France, when it enters into the fuller and nobler life in times to come, will assume.

In Anatole France, Pierre Loti, Alphonse Daudet we note a harking back to that imaginative idealism which was a conspicuous feature of the writings of Chateaubriand. All these authors are living and, by their literary efforts, are helping the onward march of the car of progress and civilisation. The analytical descriptions of Anatole France in "The Crimes of Sylvestre Bonnard" have endeared this work to every lover of French literature. The *fourfaronnade* of Daudet in those books of his belonging to the "Tartarin" series has made Daudet as popular in France as Conan Doyle in England. Pierre Loti is well-known to Indian readers, as being the author of that delightful volume on "India" in which he records his impressions of his sojourn in India.

An examination of the works of the brilliant galaxy of nineteenth century French writers renders it clear as the light of the day that the love of liberty, engendered by the French Revolution of 1789, which had so permeated the Frenchman's soul as to become a part and parcel of his very existence, exercised its inevitable influence upon literature also. It is this passionate love of freedom and equality, whether in life or literature, that makes Victor Hugo ecstatically cry out "Yes, Paris as the representatives of France will be the sower, sowing the darkness with sparks of light. It stirs up the fire of progress. It casts superstition and fanaticism and hatred and folly and prejudice on to this fire, and from all such darkness comes a blaze of light. Paris will be the ship sailing on through storms and whirlpools to unknown Atlantides and ever towing the fleet of mankind in its wake. Search the whole world through ! It must be on the deck of France that one may best hear the quivering and the flapping of the full-spread, invisible sails of Human Progress."

It is due to these same feelings of disregard for bonds and restraints that thinkers like Renan and Edmond About are such stout opponents of Clericalism which, far from conducing to the development of the larger life, clogs the wheels of Progress. It is these same feelings again that have nerved every true son of France, at this hour, to

fight out the cause of Right against Might. It is defiance of tyranny and slavery that makes all Frenchmen cry out with Shelley (addressing Liberty),

“Keener thy gaze than the lightnings glare,
And swifter thy step than the earthquake’s tramp :
Thou deafenest the rage of the ocean ; thy stare
Makes blind the volcanoes ; the sun’s bright lamp
To thine is a fen-fire damp.”

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

THE Mythology of All Races” series. 13 vols. Edited by Louis Herbert Gray, M. A., Ph. D., and George Foot Moore, A. M., D. D., LL. D. (Marshall Jones Company, Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A.) 1916–1918. (Sold in complete sets only.)

Even in these days of co-operative literary undertakings on a gigantic scale, “The Mythology of All Races” series will mark an epoch in the publication of notable and monumental treatises of composite manufacture, and it reflects the highest credit alike on American scholarship and publishing enterprise. The Mythology of All Races extends to thirteen volumes and is an excellently illustrated work of research by scholars of eminence. It is edited by Dr. Louis Herbert Gray, formerly Associate Editor of Hastings’s *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, who has had the assistance as the Consulting Editor of that eminent scholar, Dr. George Foot Moore, of the Harvard University. The publishers of this monumental work are Marshall Jones Company of Boston, (Massachusetts, U. S. A.) and it is but due to them that we should first refer to their part of the work in this notable enterprise. To begin with the get-up of the work is, excellent—the printing in handsome type on an ivory tinted paper, with wide margins, being exceedingly neat and restful to the eye. The general excellence of the mechanical execution is enhanced materially by the wealth of illustrations which embellish the work. There are about eight hundred illustrations, in half-tone, photogravure, colour, and line drawing, individually selected by the authors. Many are from special photographs of works of art in the museums of New York, Boston, Washington, and Harvard University, as well as in private collections. One of the coloured illustrations has been printed in Japan from a wood block made by a Japanese artist. Special drawings have been made in Scotland for the Celtic section, and in Philadelphia for the Egyptian section. It is difficult to over-praise the scheme of illustrations, which includes pictures of deities or of mythic incidents as conceived and delineated by the people who believed in them. The illustrations are thus full of interest and instructiveness both for their intrinsic merit and the excellence of their

reproduction, as also—even more so—for the light they throw upon the letter-press the significance of which they bring into prominent relief. These few facts will give some idea of the value of the illustrations which are so striking a feature of the work. A strong, artistic buckram and a dark coloured morocco, re-enforced and tape sewn, are used for bindings. Devices and letters have been drawn by a competent artist.

Turning now to the contents and the general design and scope of the series, one can have nothing but sincere admiration for the editors who have planned the work on so comprehensive a scale, and the contributors who have executed their tasks so remarkably well. The thoroughness of the design and the comprehensiveness of the scope of the series will be apparent from a survey of the volumes included in it and the names of the writers. The first volume on Greek and Roman Mythology, is by Professor W. Sherwood Fox, of Princeton University. The second volume, devoted to Teutonic Mythology, is by Dr. Axel Olrik, of the University of Copenhagen, author of "The Epic Poetry of Denmark" and other important works. The third volume is divided between Celtic and Slavic: Canon John A. MacCulloch, Rector of St. Saviour's, Bridge of Allan, Scotland, and author of "The Childhood of Fiction," writes on the Celtic Myths; and the Slavic section is written by Professor Jan Machal, of the Bohemian University of Prague, the author of important works on Slavic Mythology. In the fourth volume, Dr. Uno Holmberg, of the University of Finland, writes of the Finno-Ugric and Siberian Mythology. The fifth volume, on Semitic Mythology, is by Captain R. Campbell Thompson, the author of several well known works upon Oriental mythological subjects. The sixth volume is divided between India and Persia—the first being dealt with by Professor A. Berriedale Keith, of Edinburgh University, author of the "Vedic Index of Names and Subjects," and the second by Professor A. J. Carnoy of the University of Louvain, author of the "Religion of the Avesta" and other works. The seventh volume includes Armenian Mythology, by Professor Neardiros Anani Kian, of the Kennedy School of Missions, and the Mythology of the Pagan Africans by George Foucart, head of the French Institute of Oriental Archæology at Cairo and the author of "*La Methode Comparative dans l'Histoire des Religions.*" Chinese Mythology, by Professor U. Hattori of the Imperial University of Tokio, and Japanese Mythology by Professor Masaharu Anesaki, also of the University of Tokio, make up the eighth volume. The ninth volume, by Professor Roland Burrage Dixon of Harvard University, author of "Maidu Texts," discusses the Mythology of the Nealayo-Polynesian and Australian peoples. The tenth and eleventh volumes treat of North American, Central and South American Indian Mythology, and both are by Professor Hartley B. Alexander, of the University of Nebraska, author of numerous articles on the American Indians. The twelfth volume includes ancient Egyptian Mythology by Professor Max Müller

of the University of Pennsylvania, author of "Egyptological Researches," and the Mythology of Burma, Siam, and Annam, by Sir George Scott, editor of "The Upper Burma Gazetteer."

The aim of the series is thus to present an up-to-date exposition of researches in the mythologies of the various races and peoples of the ancient and the modern world. Written by experts and specialists the series is of the highest scientific value and will for a long time to come hold its own as the great reportory of world-mythology. But apart from its great value to specialists in or students of Mythology, the books have a unique value for the general reader to whom they should widely appeal as also to educationists and teachers. The latter, in particular, having access to this magnificent work can open a new world to their students. The stories, or the myths, may be used in all higher grades of work to college post-graduate. They can be made to correlate in teaching with biology, history, biography, English, and ethics in secondary school work; with music and art, philosophy, religion, philology, and anthropology as a source-book for advanced and research students. The many classical dictionaries and text books bear testimony to the importance of mythology as a cultural study, and this first exhaustive and authoritative work on the subject in the English language can be utilized in many ways for the benefit of students in schools and colleges, even in India.

Perhaps the volumes which will appeal most to readers in this country are the two dealing with Indian and Iranian mythologies and the Greek and the Roman. The latter volume is in three parts: I, "Myths of the Beginning, the Heroes, and the Afterworld," II, "The Greek Gods," and III, "The Mythology of Ancient Italy." The difficulty of the subject necessitated a difference of plan in various parts. Thus, after "Myths of the Beginning" four chapters follow geographical lines, two others are personal (Heracles and Theseus), then come discussions of the Argo Troy, and the Afterworld. Part II takes up first the "Greater Gods," the Olympian pantheon, with those of earth and Hades, then "The Lesser Gods." The treatment of Italian mythology exhibits the great lack of information from which all scholars suffer in this department. The space given (21 pages as against 284 for Greek) well illustrates this fact. The volume is, according to its plan, excellently done. It is comprehensive, yet condensed, and clear and attractive in formulation. The illustrations are well chosen and unhackneyed, and impart fresh interest to an old subject.

But it is after all, the volume dealing with the mythologies of India and Iran that will naturally find a most cordial welcome in this country. Professor Keith who is an admitted authority has dealt with Indian mythology on religious lines rather than in historical sequence. In so

far as it is possible for even a scholar to condense in two-thirds of a volume the Hindu mythology of three thousand years—of the Vedic, Brahmanic, Epic, Puranic, and modern Indian periods—along with those of Buddhism and Jainism, Professor Keith may be said to have achieved a notable success. And yet for want of space the author has felt compelled to condense too much. His survey of modern Indian mythology—especially of the South—is not so satisfactory as the other parts of his work. It were much too be wished that the unlucky number thirteen—to which the last volume of the series runs—might have been avoided by dividing the sixth volume into two—one devoted to the Indian and the other to the Iranian—for both sections are at present cramped in their present setting. Perhaps the editors put the two together with a view to avoid confusion between “Indian” and “American Indian”—or Amerindian as the latter is now called. This difficulty might, however, have been avoided by calling the Indian volume “Indic.” Yet, another criticism that may be offered is the want of index to each volume, that for the whole series being provided in the thirteenth and last volume. The average reader would have preferred each volume being separately indexed. In this matter and in collecting the notes at the end of each volume the readers’ convenience has not been sufficiently consulted and these omissions ought to be removed in the second edition. Each volume is, however, provided with excellent select bibliographies which will be of very great assistance to those desirous of following up their studies. In conclusion, we desire to offer our cordial felicitations to the editors, authors and publishers on their production of the well-planned, well-written, well-illustrated and well-executed series of books of constructive exposition, brilliant interpretation and fascinating information on a subject of perennial interest to enlightened and cultured men and women. Though the series is sold only in complete sets, we hope our public libraries and school and college libraries will not delay enriching themselves by the acquisition of so valuable and monumental a treatise as the *Mythology of All Races*.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Some Recent Literary Studies.

History of the French Novel. Vol I. By George Saintsbury. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London) 1917.

Inter Arma. By Edmund Gosse, C. B. (William Heinemann, London) 1916.

A Sheaf. By John Galsworthy. (William Heinemann, London) 1916.

Essays and Literary Studies. By Stephen Leacock. (John Lane, The Bodley Head, London) 1916.

Poets of the Democracy. By G. Currie Martin. (Headley Bros., Ltd, Kingsway, London) 1917.

Anglo-Indian Poetry. By P. Seshadri, M.A. (Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Mount Road, Madras) 1916.

WE believe we are right in saying that Mr. George Saintsbury is at present the greatest scholar of French language and literature in the United Kingdom. His *Short History of French Literature*, which has just appeared in a new and revised edition, is justly regarded as a classic on the subject. He has now undertaken to write on a large scale *A History of the French Novel*, the first volume of which, bringing down the narrative to the close of the 18th century, has been recently published. Students of the subject will cordially welcome this treatise, which the authory says in the Preface "if it ever gets finished, must in all probability be the last of some already perhaps too numerous studies of literary history." Mr. Saintsbury is a master of the subject and he has sketched the history of French fiction, in the work under review, truly in a masterly way. The firts five chapters in which he sketches the history till the appearance of Rabelais are naturally not so interesting as those dealing with the father of French fiction and his successors up to the end of the 18th century. Accurate, learned and interesting, the book is further equipped with a chronological conspectus of the principal works noticed in the volume and enriched with bibliographical notes, which materially enhance its value for purposes of both study and reference. We await with interest the publication of the concluding volume, bringing down the history to the close of the 19th century.

Mr. Edmund Gosse is too well-known as a critic and essayist to require commendation at the reviewers' hands. His list of works beginning with the *Northern Studies* published in 1879, include essays, histories of literature, biographies, travels, poems and even a romance—a unique record in literary versatility. His latest production—*Inter Arma*—is a collection of essays "written in time of war." They are all reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review* and it is well that they have been brought together and rendered accessible to the reading public, since they fully deserved permanence. The essays deal with War and Literature, The Unity of France, The Desecration of French Monuments, The Napoleonic Wars in English Poetry, War Poetry in France, A French Satirist in England, and The Neutrality of Sweeden. The essays are exceedingly well-written for Mr. Gosse is a stylist of no mean order, and though they cannot appeal equally to all readers, there is so much in them of interest that no reader is likely to go without having his tastes gratified. The volume should interest thoughtful and cultured students of literature.

Mr. John Galsworthy is one of the great forces in modern English literature. His plays, poems, and stories appeal to a very large circle of

readers. But his latest volume, called *A Sheaf*, marks an almost new departure, in as much as it consists mainly of reprints from various periodicals of his essays or rather prose-sketches and studies. They cover a very large range. Treatment of animals, prisons and punishment, position of women, social unrest, peace, and many problems connected with the war "and after" come within the purview of the writer's survey, and it goes without saying that he deals with each of the subjects with a freshness which makes the book delightful reading. Where there is so much feast of reason, it is difficult to pick and choose but Indian readers will most likely be interested more than in any other essay in that on the "Diagnosis of the Englishman." Here are two gems from it:—"The Englishman does not know himself; outside England he is but guessed at." The "Englishman is essentially inexpressive, unexpressed." But the book should be read through to be fully appreciated.

Mr. Stephen Leacock is a delightful Canadian writer—essayist, satirist, parodist and humourist—who made his *debut* in England with his *Literary Lapses*. His other works include *Nonsense Novels*—one of the best collection of parodiës. His present collection—*Essays and Literary Studies*—though containing disquisitions cast in a serious mould, is nevertheless marked by a considerable, subtle humour, and makes very interesting reading. There are nine essays:—The Apology of a Professor, The Devil and the Deep Sea, Literature and Education in America, American Humour, The Woman Question, The Lot of the Schoolmaster, Fiction and Reality, The Amazing Genius of O. Henry, and A Rehabilitation of Charles II. Each of these is delightfully written, with delicious touches and a vivacity which leave nothing to be desired. The sketch that has interested us most is Fiction and Reality, but of course where the choice is so unlimited, every reader can choose for himself what is likely to interest him. To students of modern English literature in India Mr. Leacock's books will be a revelation. They deserve—and we hope they will obtain—a very wide circulation.

It is an excellent book of selections from the English poets with suitable comments that Mr. G. C. Martin has put together, mainly for the benefit of students and youngmen; but the book is so well compiled that it will be read with pleasure and profit by even elderly people. After lucidly discoursing on "The Democratic Ideal in Poetry" Mr. Martin surveys for his purpose *Piers the Plowman*, the poets from Langland to Gray, and Goldsmith, Cowper, Crabbe, Burns, Wordsworth, the Corn Law Rhymers, Walt Whitman, James Lowell, Edward Carpenter, John Masefield, W. W. Gibson, George Meredith, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Colonial Democratic Poets. Alike for the judiciousness of the selections from the poets and in the expository and interpretative comments furnished thereon Mr. Martin's *Poets of the Democracy* will appeal to English-knowing Indians and the book should have a large sale.

in this country. In these days of cry for Home Rule for India, many may derive inspiration from the book.

Mr. P. Seshadri—the present vice-Principal of the Hindu University at Benares—is a sound scholar of English. He made his mark by editing with a biographical and critical Introduction the poems of John Leyden, the well-known Anglo-Indian poet. Sometime back he delivered under the auspices of the Madras Literary Society an address on “Anglo-Indian Poetry,” which subsequently appeared in that excellent Madras periodical—the *Educational Review*. This has now been made available in a booklet and we have much pleasure in commending it to students of the subject. One finds in it an excellent short sketch of a great subject—the field traversed being from the period of John Leyden down to our own times. Indian writers of English poems—Toru Dutt, Romesh Dutt, Rabindranath Tagore, the Ghose brothers (Manomohan and Aurobindo) and Mrs. Naidu (wrongly called Mrs. Sarojini on p. 28) are included in the survey. Altogether a capital, little sketch.

Our Library Table : Miscellaneous Literature.

 F the various popular, geographical series at present in course of publication, perhaps the best is the “Countries and Peoples” series, published by Messrs. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd. (1 Amen Corner, London, E. C.) The volumes in this series give exceedingly well-written sketches by experts of the national history of the various countries and peoples, followed by chapters on Religion, Government Commerce, Press, Social and Political Institutions, Arts and Sciences, Architecture and Antiquities, Drama, Literature, Education and other topics of interest. The series now includes twenty volumes dealing with Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Russia, Belgium, Servia, Japan, Turkey, Italy, America, Portugal, Egypt, Greece, Holland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Scandinavia and Scotland. That on the last country—called *Scotland of the Scots*—is the latest edition to the series and is written by Mr. G. R. Blake. Like the other volumes of the series, in which it appears, it is written in a lively style and presents a faithful picture of “Caledonia stern and wild”—giving a truthful delineation of the Scottish people, both townsfolk and countryfolk in all classes, including sketches of their tastes, their habits and their ideals; while accurate, sound and interesting information coupled with a wealth of excellent photographic reproductions, conduces to its success as an almost ideal work for popular reading. Now that the mental horizon of the English-knowing Indian is being appreciably widened by the play of world-forces around him, Messrs. Pitman’s “Countries and Peoples” series, ought to secure for itself a very wide circulation in this country. The books also make ideal prize books.

A cordial welcome will be extended by visitors to Kashmir to the new, eleventh edition—just published—of Dr. Arthur Neve’s well-known *Tourist’s Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh and Skardo* (Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore). In the literature of Indian topography Dr. Neve’s *Guide to Kashmir* may be said to have become almost a classic, and the fact of its having passed through eleven editions in the course of a couple of decades, is a proof conclusive of its great usefulness and wide popularity. The edition under notice has been

thoroughly overhauled by the author and it is not only fully up-to-date but—for a guidebook—on the whole, very accurate. The work is very well got-up and at present when the Playground of Asia is so much “in demand,” it should find a very large circulation.

Mr. A. S. Ramaiah, editor of the *Everyman's Review*, has brought out *Sri Krishna : The Soul of Humanity* (The Kanara Press, Madras.) It purports to be a critical study of the life and genius of Sri Krishna and is intended to serve as an introduction to a larger and more comprehensive study to be called *The Supreme Religion of Sri Krishna*. Mr. Ramaiah writes frankly as an enthusiast on Sri Krishna whom he regards as the “highest Avatar,” and it is doubtful if even his Hindu readers will agree with him in all that he says in the book under consideration. Nevertheless there is much in this short study of a great subject which will interest the reader, for the book is well-written and inspired by high spirituality. It should appeal to the educated Hindoos.

Miss Cornelia Sorabji has added to her contributions to Anglo-Indian literature, one more interesting book, called *The Purdanashin* (Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta). It is introduced in a Foreword by our late Vicerine—the Countess of Minto. Miss Sorabji is a practised writer and her experience of Indian Zenanas in Upper India is vast and varied and when she choses to lift the veil, the result is bound to be interesting. There is a great deal in her little book which will be new to readers unfamiliar with the conditions of women's life in the Upper Provinces, while even by those who may know a great deal the book will be found suggestive. It deserves wide appreciation.

Miss. Ethel Hargrove's *Garden of Desire: A Story of the Isle of Wright* (Grafton & Co., Coptic Street, London, W. C.) is a work of fiction of singular freshness and considerable interest. Though the plot is simple and free from any complications, the characters are well developed, while there are no too wearying scenic descriptions. Each chapter opens with with suitable mottoes from some well-known writers. It being a work of fiction, we have no desire to outline the plot which should be read as a whole to be appreciated. Since the vast mass of current fiction is worthless, it gives us pleasure in commending a really good work of its class.

To the “Harvard Theological Studies” series Mr. William R. Arnold—Professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary—has contributed a critical “study in the record and religion of the Ancient Hebrews,” called *Ephod and Ark* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge: U. S. A.). It is not intended for general readers but students interested in the study of the nature and ceremonial uses of these two sacred objects of the ancient Hebrew faith will find Professor Arnold's work both accurate and instructive, as it is fully abreast of the latest research in the subject. It reflects great credit on American scholarship.

We noticed in terms of appreciation, some years back, Mr. Devijendra Nath Neogy's *Sacred Tales of India*. We have great pleasure in welcoming now his *True Tales of Indian Life* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.) The collection consists of sixty-six short stories many of which point the moral of heroism, courage, and self-sacrifice, worthy of preservation in a book of golden deeds. Dealing with modern times the book usefully supplements the author's earlier work which dealt with ancient India. Both the books ought to be widely read by our boys.

We welcome the new, cheap edition of Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose's *Essays and Lectures on the Industrial Development of India* (Newman & Co., Calcutta) which on its first appearance, some years back, was noticed by us in terms of high apprecia-

tion. Mr. Bose—who is a valued contributor to the *Hindustan Review*—is a writer of considerable experience of things Indian and his well-considered and matured opinions, on some of the current, industrial problems and allied subjects, deserve careful attention at the hands of the public.

In his *British Civil Service* (Grafton & Co., Great Russell Street, London) Mr. F. G. Heath deals with the four branches of the subject known as Home, Colonial, Indian and Diplomatic. The author has forty-two years' experience inside the British Civil Service and has thus written with a fulness of knowledge. Those interested in information about these various highest services in the British Empire will find Mr. Heath's book highly useful.

Dr. J. H. Balfour Browne has put together an interesting collection of epigrams in a booklet called *Flotsam and Jetsam* (George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., London). Though they are naturally of unequal value, still there is much in Dr. Browne's work to appeal to the average reader. There is in the collection a great deal of shrewd wit and sound experience presented in a form that is delightful. It is a valuable addition to epigrammatic literature.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is a modern Indian classic and it is well that Mr. J. D. Anderson, I. C. S. (Retired) has rendered into English four of his tales under the title of *Indian and Other Stories* (Modern Review Office, Calcutta.) The book is embellished with two excellent coloured illustrations by Nandlal Bose. Those who cannot read Bankim in Bengal may do worse than read him in the translation before us which is exceedingly well done.

Yet another edition of Mr. Tilak's speeches, for which Mr. R. R. Srivastava is responsible. It is only part I that is issued and a second part is to follow. To those to whom the other editions—noticed by us in the last issue of the *Hindustan Review*—be not accessible, Mr. Srivastava's edition of the *Speeches of Bal Gangadhar Tilak* (National Book Depôt, Fyzabad) may be commended.

Seven recent contributions of Mr. Lajpat Rai to the *Modern Review* have been reprinted in book form under the title of *The Evolution of Japan and other Papers* (Modern Review Office, Calcutta). They are full of accurate and instructive information and are well worth careful study. The book should be of great interest to English-knowing Indians.

The Story of the Rings (Central Press; 12 Wellesley Street, Calcutta) is a translation by Messrs. P. N. Bose and W. H. B. Morans, of a work of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Like most of his stories, it is well worth reading, in the excellent translation before us.

All interested in poultry-keeping in this country should obtain a copy of the very informative annual—*The Indian Poultry Directory, 1918*—issued by the Indian Poultry Club, of which Lt.-Col. J. F. Tyrell, R. A. of Simla is the Secretary.

Editorial Comments on some Current Topics.

(I) The Delhi War Conference and its Personnel. (II) The Alleged Representative Character of the Conference and the True Principle of Representation. (III) The Success Achieved by the Conference Judged by its Results and the Home Rule Resolution Controversy. (IV) Public Opinion in regard to the Achievements of the Conference. (V) The Provincial Conferences held in Northern India. (VI) The Vagaries of Civilian Judges and the Administration of Criminal Justice. (VII) The Home Rule Deputation and the Home Government's Communique on the Subject. (VIII) The Solution of the Champaran Troubles and Mr. Gandhi's Success.

I.

THE topic of the month—*par excellence*—has been the War Conference held at Delhi, in pursuance of the Viceroy's stirring reply to the Prime Minister's memorable message on the present situation in Asia and India's duty at this supreme crisis. The Conference, its constitution, proceedings and resolutions, have attracted very wide attention and the leading papers have been full of comments on them, as also of reports of the meetings held at various important centres in connection with that assemblage. To begin with, a great deal has appeared in the papers in regard to the constitution—or rather the personnel—of the Conference. The Government of India decided—wrongly, as we hope to show later—to invite to the Conference only the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and certain nominees of each local Government and administration. This was the initial mistake, as in these days of stentorian cries in this country for Home Rule, Responsible Government, Principle of Self Determination, No Taxation Without Representation and the many other shibboleths of democratically-governed countries, it was idle on the part of the Government to expect acquiescence to the personnel of a Conference based on a system of nomination, pure and simple—that too by such out-of-touch-with-popular-movements authorities as the provincial governments in this country generally are. The result—disapproval, dissatisfaction, heart-burning and the other inevitable concomitants of a wrong process of convention—was but a foregone conclusion. Numerous meetings were held in many of the important cities—not the least notable being one in Allahabad itself—protesting against the omission in the list of Government nominees of Mr. This or Mr. That and the correspondence and the editorial columns of almost all the “advanced” Indian papers have borne witness to the great upheaval of popular discontent in regard to the personnel of the

Conference. Though the oppositionists may have overstated their case—as men are apt to do on occasions—there can be no doubt that their grievance was, on the whole, well-founded. Even our esteemed contemporary of the *Leader*—which was not disposed to attach undue importance to this grievance—felt bound to declare that “the Government would have done wisely to invite some persons whose names we do not find in the list published” and some days later—after the Conference was over—it declared that the failure to nominate the Hon’ble Pandit Motilal Nehru of this city “was a sad omission on which the local Government cannot be congratulated,” as the Hon’ble Pandit “is one of the most prominent public men of these provinces and is President of both the Provincial Congress Committee and the Home Rule League,” and he “should have been invited as the Conference was intended to be thoroughly representative.” If any further proof were needed of the genuineness of the grievance, it would be found in the invitation by His Excellency the Viceroy himself to two gentlemen from these provinces, who were not nominated by the local Government. In the neighbouring province of Behar the Local Government evidently thought that the enlightened public opinion of the educated Hindoos could best be represented by no others than three Maharaja Bahadurs—two hereditary and one non-hereditary—only one of whom could be present at Delhi. The grievance is keenly felt in Behar, all the more so as it was prominently brought to the notice of His Honour, Sir Edward Levinge, by Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain, President of the Behar Provincial Association and Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee. We are, therefore, not surprised to learn that even so moderate a Behar public man as the Hon’ble Rai Bahadur Dwarkanath felt it to be his duty to heckle the Chief Secretary to the Behar Government on the very steps of the Government House at Patna, just after the termination of the Provincial War Conference. Other provinces have an almost similar tale. The Madras Government would not and did not nominate Mrs. Besant, nor the Bombay Government, Mr. Tilak, nor the Bengal Government, Mr. Motilal Ghose. The omission to nominate Mrs. Besant is so palpably glaring that even our esteemed and thoughtful contemporary of the *Indian Social Reformer*,—which opines that the Conference was “as representative a body of Indian leaders as could have been gathered together”—is constrained to declare in the same breath that “the only omission which it would perhaps have been better to have avoided is that of the President of the last National Congress, Mrs. Besant.” It would be useless in the face of this admission to labour the point any further. Perhaps equally significant was the omission to nominate Mr. Tilak and it was equally open to objection from the popular standpoint. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. Gandhi at first strenuously refused to join the Conference and did so on the second day as the result of moral

suasion brought to bear upon him at a prolonged interview with the Viceroy; nor that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay shortly after the Conference recorded its emphatic protest against the omission to nominate some of the popular leaders.

II.

There seems to be some misconception in the minds of even some of our generally thoughtful contemporaries on the question of the character of a Conference like the one which was convened at Delhi, as to whether it was representative or otherwise. For instance, the *Indian Social Reformer* at the end of the declaration quoted in the preceding paragraph as to the Conference being representative, goes on to add :—"We can think of no shade of opinion which has been left out;" while the *Leader* ended its opinion already quoted on the same subject with the observation that it failed "to see how the absence of a person or two can be regarded as making the Conference unrepresentative." Now, we frankly confess that we do not see eye to eye with our esteemed contemporaries on this aspect of the question, for if the object of the Conference was merely the representation of all shades of opinion, that could have been easily gained by inviting but half-a-dozen men from the whole Indian Empire. One Indian ruling chief, the Presidents of the National Congress and the Muslim League, the President of the newly formed Muslim Association (in opposition to the League), the redoubtable Dr. Nair, and the formidable Mr. Welby, and perhaps a Burman, would have probably sufficed to give expression to the various shades of opinion; for we confess we do not know of any "shade" in this country that can not be brought under one or other of the "shades" represented by the six persons whom we have suggested. But clearly that was *not* the idea of the Government of India in convening so large a Conference and it is futile, therefore, to pursue that line of argument. Nor was it a case—as the *Leader* would fain suggest—of "the absence of a person or two." It would be more accurate to say that it was not even a case of "the absence of a person or two" from each province. It was more than that. It was not so much the question of personalities as of principle—namely whether a Conference convened by nomination by the Local Government can at all be said to be "representative." To our mind, there can be but one answer and one alone. Howsoever careful, comprehensive and catholic the selections, the nominees of the provincial Governments—even with the inclusion of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council—can not be said to constitute in any sense of the term a representative assembly. It is surprising that this, to our mind, very important aspect of the question should have failed to occur even to those who are strenuously agitating for the early establishment of representative institutions in this country. Suppose the local Governments had nominated Mrs. Besant and all the other persons whose omission is practically admitted to

have affected for the worse the character of the Conference ; would that have made the Delhi assemblage representative ? We submit not ; for to hold otherwise would be to ignore the great political principle that it is not personality but status which confers representative capacity, and that political status—carrying with it the right to represent—depends upon the process of popular election as opposed to nomination by the Executive. Suppose the King of England convened a Session of Parliament composed of the most enlightened, the most cultured, the most learned, and the most business-like men chosen from all the classes and communities in the United Kingdom ; would that be representative of the people of Great Britain and Ireland in any sense of the term ? One can scarcely find a more qualified or a more tactful spokesman of the aspirations of the educated classes than Sir S. P. Sinha, and yet his nomination to the War Council both last year and again this year has been the subject of just comment that being but a government nominee he could not claim the higher status of being a representative of the Indian people. It was, therefore, that we stated our conviction in the preceding paragraph that the Government of India made the initial mistake in laying down the rule that the Delhi Conference would comprise only the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and the nominees of the local Governments. What they should have laid down was that all the leading political associations—the various Provincial Congress Committees, Home Rule Leagues, and other institutions—in fact, all those that were recently allowed to approach the Secretary of State and the Viceroy with representations on the question of reforms, and even others, should be allowed to elect their representatives, whose numbers could have been fixed. A resort to this principle would have obviated all the difficulties, and silenced all just and reasonable critics. But the Indian bureaucracy and its methods of administration remind one of the experiment—cited in his *Psychology* by the late Professor William James—in which a pike was placed in a tank with a glass partition, a number of minnows being placed on the other side of it. To be able to get at the minnows the pike dashed itself against the partition more than two thousand times—when only it learnt the folly of dashing its head against a wall, even of glass. Evidently the Indian bureaucracy is incapable, like the pike, of learning a lesson till it has dashed itself unsuccessfully against the wall of popular opinion.

III

Turning now to the proceedings of the Conference, the first thing of which we may express our just but respectful appreciation is the Message sent by the King-Emperor and read out by the Viceroy. Though it has already been given very wide publicity, we make no apology for reproducing it, since it is entitled to a permanent record in the *Hindustan Review*. Here is the full text of it ;—“ I learn with deep satisfaction

that, in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, representatives of the Provincial Governments, and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in Conference at Delhi to reaffirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world. Great as has been India's contribution to the cause of the Allies, it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development and the fuller utilisation of her man-power will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity, and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy her people will not fail in their endeavour. Recent events have made the struggle on the Western front more bitter and more intense. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever-increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a patriotic spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifices without which no high object, no lasting victory can be achieved." The expression "the need of the Empire is India's opportunity" is very happily conceived and is pregnant with political prescience. It is not surprising that it has already passed into current political phraseology in this country. For the rest, the inaugural address of the Viceroy was, on the whole, admirable in spirit and form, though exception may be taken to the reference in it to the exclusion of some of those who are *bete noir* to one or other of the local Governments. The speeches delivered by the feudatory chiefs and popular leaders, on the second and closing day of the Conference, were almost all excellent in matter and manner alike, but there was scarcely one that might be called original or striking. The fact of the matter is that there is no longer a PHEROZESHAH MEHTA or a GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE amongst us to make to our discussions of public affairs contributions which may strike the imagination by either their originality or political insight. *Capital* has bestowed a high measure of praise on the speech delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri and we have no doubt it is fully well-deserved. Perhaps the most notable incident was the sending in by the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde of a Home Rule resolution to the Viceroy, which the latter felt bound to disallow and the reason for which he placed before the Conference in a singularly temperate and urbane speech. It appears that there was considerable difference of opinion amongst the popular leaders themselves in regard to the advisability of the submission of this resolution to the

Viceroy. If Mr. Khaparde was strongly supported by some of the prominent Indian public men, he was strenuously opposed by as many entitled by their position in public life to equal weight and consideration with the supporters of Mr. Khaparde. The controversy on the subject has been vigorously carried on in the press by the partisans on each side and the opponents of Mr. Khaparde have been charged with lack of courage or independence. After weighing the matter carefully we are strongly of opinion that there is absolutely no justification for any such charge or insinuation against those who could not see their way to support Mr. Khaparde. The reasons have been cogently set forth in the *Bengalee* in refuting the aspersions cast upon Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee and—knowing as we do something of British public life—we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that there seems to us very great force in them. It is quite clear that constituted as the Conference was, there was not the least chance—even supposing that the Chiefs and Princes could have been eliminated—for the Home Rule resolution being carried unanimously, even if it could have been carried at all. The result of its non-acceptance or acceptance by a mere majority would have been disastrous to the fortunes of the Home Rule movement, since advantage would have been taken of the situation by the Sydenhamites in Great Britain to advertise it and put upon it a misconstruction with a view to mislead the British public, who—being much too busy at present to think of anything but the War—would have easily swallowed the Sydenhamite version that the most representative Conference of Indians—as they would have believed it to be—either vetoed or but half-heartedly accepted the Home Rule resolution. While, therefore, giving full credit to Mr. Khaparde and his supporters for the courage of their conviction, we hold that those who refused to join them were not only equally patriotic, but displayed better political judgment.

IV

Taking, however, the result achieved by the Conference as a War Conference, we are free to confess that they have been, on the whole, disappointing. If—as has been suggested in some quarters—the main purpose of the Conference was merely to reaffirm the fundamental unity of India in its attitude of stern opposition to the aggression of Germany and “to perpetuate the Empire,” to quote the words of the Maharaja Scindhia in his speech at Delhi, then it might be said that the Delhi assemblage was, no doubt, successful. But if that was not all, if it was further to devise ways and means for the better defence of India—to organise, in fact, the there m’s : men, money and munitions—it can not be said that the Conference achieved even a fair measure of success. True, the recent communiques issued by the Government of India on the subject, since the termination of the Conference, have given details which were not to be found in the proceedings and the resolutions of the

meeting. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the net result of the Conference, even with the subsequent communiques thrown in, does not seem to us to have justified the anticipations formed of it as to working out details for the fullest utilisation of our man-power and our economic resources. It is curious that the bitterest detractors of the proceedings and the work of the Conference have been the Anglo-Indian papers. "Great cry but little wool is an old proverb that might appropriately be applied to the Delhi Conference"—writes *Commerce*, a financial weekly of Calcutta. The rest of its comments are in a strain consistent with the opening words we have quoted. The *Empire*—a very pro-government paper—refers to the proceedings as "platitudinous" and the resolutions as "nebulous" and opines that "apart from being a vehicle for the assurance of India's loyalty which was never doubted" the results of the Conference have been almost infructuous. Even the *Madras Mail* regrets "the vagueness of the resolutions;" while the *Indian Daily News*—one of the most independent of Anglo-Indian papers—fails "to see what good purpose it (the Conference) is likely to effect." It further finds fault with the Viceregal pronouncement in regard to the exclusion of some persons—a matter which we have referred to above. Says the *News*:—"We see he answered the remarks of some of the Indian Press by saying that it was idle to summon 'those who disagree on first principles.' That seems to us a complete blunder, and anyone who has read his Boswell knows of the result of the meeting of Johnson and Wilkes. 'Will you have any more gravy, sir,' said Wilkes and before ten minutes Johnson had melted. It is quite possible that those who disagree on first principles, sometimes agree on other matters." Nor are the thoughtful Indian papers enthusiastic. Thus the *Indian Social Reformer*:—"The idea (of holding the Conference) was a most happy one to whomsoever it first occurred. But, as usual (the italics are ours. Ed. H. R.) this great idea in its application and actual working was whittled down as nearly as possible into a semblance of the hum-drum common place ones, which are so dear to the departmental soul." After setting forth the various cogent reasons for its view, our esteemed Bombay contemporary concludes by saying, "That the Conference, owing to lack of definite purpose, was not as fruitful of results as it might have been, seems to be the general verdict of many who went to Delhi," and it then adds, perhaps in despair, that "it is for the provincial Conferences to make good whatever was wanting in the Delhi Conference."

V

Well, four of these provincial Conferences, consisting solely of Government invitees, have been held since—in the four major provinces of Northern India—but beyond affirming the resolutions of the Delhi Conference, these assemblages have done nothing in the way of making up the

deficiencies of the "All-India" session. These provincial Conferences—held at Calcutta, Patna, Lucknow and Lahore—were presided over by the administrators of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, Agra and Oudh and the Panjab. Of the four presidential addresses we like that of our own Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Sir Harcourt Butler, as the best. It was tactful, conciliatory, and even emotional at places and was, in fact, an almost ideal speech for the occasion. "I appeal to those who in ordinary times are somewhat critical towards Government but who are now with us ready to sink all differences and to work as brothers and comrades and appeal to them with confidence to join actively in the propaganda," was a singularly sincere plea for co-operation to all and must mollify even those who had felt hurt by the Viceroy's plea for the exclusion of "those who disagree on first principles," which has been condemned even by the *Indian Daily News*. Even more felicitous was Sir Harcourt's reference to Indian youth. "I appeal also," said he, "to the younger generation. Though the years press on, my heart is ever with the younger generation and I do not place any limits on the enthusiasm and loyalty of our young men." What a handsome incentive this to rouse and evoke the best in Indian youth! And lastly: "We have a big place and name in history. We are Hindustan. We are the very core and centre of India. In the hearts of millions all that is greatest and most national in their lives and hope and faith is centred in Hindustan. Let us be not unworthy of our high tradition and privileges." Happy the people whose Governor can so sincerely and wholeheartedly associate and identify himself with the land the destinies of which he has been called upon to wield. Sir Edward Levinge's speech at the Patna meeting was plain and unvarnished but absolutely unobjectionable. Not so, however, the speeches of the irresponsible and irrepressible Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the high and mighty Lord Ronaldshay. They both drew gruesome pictures before their audience and played the parts of comic or rather serio-comic tragedians. The Panjab satrap "asked his hearers to recall what they had heard of former invasions, of the Ravi running with blood and choked with corpses," ending with the reminder on the authority of Goethe that "the Prussian was born a brute and civilisation would make him ferocious." Not to be outdone, the Governor of Bengal went one better and asked, "if the Kaiser came to Calcutta," what would be the value of "all the talk of freedom of individuals, of the liberty of the subject, of the rights of the people to self-determination, and of constitutional reform." It is by contrasting these unhappy and infelicitous observations with those of Sir Harcourt Butler that we can realise the vast difference in the temperament and the political standpoint of the three administrators. We submit there is no occasion or warrant for any such clap-traps as were indulged in by Sir Michael or Lord Ronaldshay. The former is evidently incorrigible and is too far gone in "wagging his tongue ill" to be expected to behave better. But

one did not certainly expect such a muddled rhapsody from the latter. True, if the Kaiser came to Calcutta, there may be no talk of freedom and liberty, or of the rights of the people and Responsible Government, but where would Lord Ronaldshay himself be at the time? Would he still be occupying the Government House in Calcutta? The possibility of the Kaiser's coming to Calcutta is, however, much too remote to justify any safe pronouncement—governorial or editorial—and we refuse to be drawn into any prophecy about it, for we feel convinced that if India is but enabled to do her part as she should, in the great world-war, the Kaiser would not be able, God willing, even to cross our frontiers, let alone his installing himself in Calcutta in the place of Lord Ronaldshay.

VI.

In the last issue of the *Hindustan Review* we wrote at some length on the unsatisfactory nature of the administration of criminal justice in the province of Agra, in connection with the flippant, undignified and unjudicial pronouncement of the Sessions Judge of Allahabad in his judgment in a case involving capital sentence. The matter was brought to the notice of the local Government through the process of an interpellation put by the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, but as we pointed out in our comments on the subject last month, the matter was one which could not be brought "within the purview of the Local Government's jurisdiction." In reply to the question the Government declared that it did not think it necessary to take any action in the matter, and pressed further in a supplementary question as to whether it approved of the Judge's injudicious *obiter dicta* (to characterize them by no harsher term), Government said that "it can not express an opinion on a matter which may be a subject of comment in the High Court." Asked further by the persistent and zealous interpellator whether Government would be pleased to forward a copy of the question to the High Court, it expressed its inability to comply with his request. In so far as the proceedings in the Legislative Council are concerned, the action of the Government seems to have been right, since in an appeal which is pending for disposal, whatever is to be brought to the notice of the Judge must be done by Counsel at the Bar and by no one else—not even by the Local or the Imperial Government. While expressing our admiration of the persistence and zeal with which Mr. Chintamani pursued the matter, we feel bound to say that his questions were "premature" in the legal sense of the term. Fortunately the accused had in the High Court the advantage of the advocacy of Mr. Ross Alston, who invited the attention of the learned Judges to the Sessions Judge's attitude, as betrayed in his comments on the evidence adduced by the defence in the following passage which will bear repetition: "No doubt witnesses of respectable appearance—some of them in black coats with collars and ties—have appeared and have sworn to the facts alleged. But the accused is a Bengali

Brahman. The Bengalis *impartibus infidelium* hold very closely together. No Mukerji, Chatterji or Banerji will ever lack support in Allahabad. The defence witnesses are three Mukerjis, a Chatterjee and a Dutt, all Bengalis." We commented adversely last month on the grave impropriety of these remarks, and the High Court has since determined the matter by upsetting the finding of the Lower Court, both Piggott and Walsh JJ. concurring in the view they took of the case. Mr. Justice Piggott said : "The whole of the evidence for the defence has been swept aside by the Sessions Judge on what appear to be quite inadequate grounds. It is not logical to put aside evidence of that sort merely on the ground that the person who gave that evidence had a motive for desiring to befriend the accused person." Mr. Justice Walsh went much further and said :— "The judgment of the lower Court reads in some particulars like a category of grievances against the accused and his friends. It could not be too often repeated—because it ought always to be remembered and in this case it was forgotten—that there was all the difference between a criminal case where a man's life was at stake and a civil suit. I think that some better reason should have been given for throwing out the whole of the testimony than the mere fact that a witness's name was Mukerji." These comments of the two learned Judges, couched in dignified and judicial language, should convey a wholesome rebuke to Mr. Simpson and others of his ilk. It would seem, however, that even in "sane and sober South," there is a Judge, the latchet of whose shoes even the Sessions Judge of Allahabad may not be worthy to unloose. Madras papers are at present full of the report of a conversation at the Bar in the Court of Mr. S. G. Roberts, I. C. S., Sessions Judge of South Arcot who—when a Vakil cited before him a judicial pronouncement of Sir Lawrence Jenkins—called his Lordship a "despicable" and "infamous scoundrel," "a disgrace to our race" "who was always anxious to earn cheap popularity," who "always twisted the Penal Code and the provisions of the Criminal Law and let go unpunished a large number of scoundrels," who "never cared for the spirit of the law," whose "judgments were responsible for the passing of the Defence of India Act and the weakening of the hands of the Government and added later that the fact that Sir Lawrence was specially selected by Lord Morley in troublous times was "a point against him." Well, well, all this is not a pleasing picture of the administration of criminal justice by a "Civilian" Judge, who is anything but civil. It may, no doubt, be an exceptional case, but sometimes an exception proves the rule. The matter is certainly very serious and we feel sure we have not heard the last of it. It has naturally roused considerable indignation—as well it might, for Sir Lawrence is respected and loved throughout the country.

VII.

"Whatever the difference in opinion as to the advisability of sending to England a Home Rule Deputation at the present juncture, there

can be none as to the unwisdom of the Home Government in cancelling their passports." Since we so expressed our view last month, the Home Government have issued in justification of their decision a *communiqué* of which the following is the full text :—"The question of passports for Home Rule and Congress delegates came again before the Cabinet to-day. The Cabinet have reaffirmed the decision that in existing circumstances none of the Home Rule delegates can be allowed to proceed to this country. It is considered by His Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for and the purpose of it lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by these persons, at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government, to come to England in the avowed role of agitators to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper. Under existing circumstances when the country is waging a great war and is confronted with a crisis of great magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort and, so far as is possible, the suspension of purely political agitation and platform controversy in whatever interest, it is one in which the Government could not acquiesce. Further, the generous intentions of His Majesty's Government which have already been demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament and his visit to India would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report, to force their hand by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government are compelled to give this decision but they have no alternative." Far from allaying public feeling on the subject, the above *communiqué* has roused a keen controversy and has evoked an amount of acerbity and political ferment which have by no means altered the situation for the better. And the reason is not far to seek. There was never any secret about the departure of the Deputation—nothing hole and corner about it. It was not planned as a secret conspiracy but everything done by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak in connection with it was above board. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy must have known all about it. The first batch of the Deputation started weeks before Mr. Tilak and his party proposed to sail. And after all this—at Colombo—they are told that their passports are cancelled and even those who had already reached Gibraltar must return from there. The Home Government's *communiqué* makes out no case whatsoever that can justify this absolutely undue and wholly unwarrantable interference with the liberty of British subjects. The Indian press is naturally almost unanimous in its condemnation of the action of the Home Government as unjust, unwise and impolitic. And

except the jackals of the Anglo-Indian press, no respectable organ of responsible public opinion has cared to come forward as an apologist to defend the belated embargo placed upon the Deputation—forsooth with retrospective effect against those who had already reached Gibraltar. The *Times of India* of Bombay—which under its very talented, cultured and broadminded editor, Sir Stanley Reed, represents all that is best in Anglo-Indian journalism—rightly opines that “the greatest disservice which can be done to the cause of sane political reform is to place artificial obstacles in the way of those who wish to appeal to British democracy, and to refuse them, particularly in this stage in their arrangements, the right of passage is to be false to all our traditions of public life.” Quite apart, however, from this aspect of the question, the declaration in the *communiqué* that the action of the Deputation would have been improper in view of Mr. Montagu’s enquiries on the subject of constitutional reforms, has roused considerable opposition as laying down a false political doctrine, so much so that even the *Statesman*—now the archapologist of the Government—has felt constrained to disown it as follows :—“ We confess that this doctrine appears to us to be absurd and out of keeping with constitutional usage. At what time was it laid down that when a Secretary of State is carrying out an investigation all discussion should cease ? An inquiry conducted by a Secretary of State is not a judicial proceeding. Mr. Montagu is a politician in quest of a policy. In no country is there a close time for politicians, nor is there any reason why they should be given a start with any scheme which they may hatch. The exigencies of political controversy demand that the designs of Ministers should be as far as possible anticipated and that the public mind should be prepared for the proposals which they are likely to propound. An Irish Convention has lately been sitting to discover a constitution for Ireland, but the voice of controversy was not stilled. Why should there be silence in India or in England because Mr. Montagu is in labour with an Indian Constitution ? Not only is there no reason for holding the peace,—apart from the war which must dominate all other considerations,—but such a truce is impracticable, unless the Indian Government are prepared to warn all the newspapers, and prohibit all the conferences, in which so much violent rant is poured forth. We see no reason why the Indian Empire or the British Empire should be hushed because Mr. Montagu is thinking.” This is about the strongest censure that could be passed on His Majesty’s Government’s action. It is a great pity that their thoughtlessness and unwisdom in cancelling the passports of the Deputation should have been not only so inopportune but the justification for it should have been couched in such intemperate language—language totally unworthy of a State document. No wonder that the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay on the 3rd of May and the Provincial Conferences of Bombay and Madras have recorded strong and emphatic condemnation of the Home Government’s

action and policy. We can but hope that those very wise statesmen are by now sadder but wiser men.

VIII.

The announcement recently made that His Excellency the Viceroy had given his assent to the Champaran Agrarian Bill, which was passed last March by the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council, is doubly welcome by reason of the strong current of rumour set afloat—evidently by the opponents of the Bill—that the Viceroy would withhold his assent from it and the Bill would be infructuous like the first Orissa Tenancy Bill, which was vetoed by Lord Hardinge. The enactment of the Bill solves one of the greatest economic and agrarian problems in the country, after more than a century of the grinding of the poor ryot at the hands of the planters. The Governments of Bengal and Behar, who upheld and defended the iniquitous system all these years, do not naturally emerge unscathed from the ordeal. No doubt, under the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon the Behar Government by the Soul-Force of Mr. Gandhi, the Local Government threw up the sponge, but their alacrity to legislate on the lines of the recommendation made by the Champaran Agrarian Committee—of which Mr. Gandhi was a member—was in so marked a contrast with their previous and persistent attitude of *non possumus* on the subject that the *Pioneer* is fully justified in twitting them by saying that “the striking feature in their decision was the assertion that the system of indigo cultivation which Government had so long and even so recently recognised as satisfactory was an abuse so flagrant as to call for instant abolition.” But our local contemporary complains—as the self-constituted champion of the planters—of “the Bill as a whole being abruptly put to the Council and passed, the representatives of the planters not being allowed the usual opportunity of expressing their final opinion on it.” Having no lot or part in the proceedings of the Behar Legislative Council, we are not in a position to adjudicate upon the merits of the point of order raised by the *Pioneer* and we can not either defend or criticise the action of Sir Edward Gait in his alleged rushing of the Bill through the Council without giving the planting Members an opportunity of blowing off their pent-up steam. But it may be that His Honour knew or could anticipate what they were going to say and was therefore not at all anxious to give them an occasion to abuse the plaintiffs’ attorney—Mr. Gandhi. For, this was really all that they intended to do. Their undelivered speeches have since seen the light in the hospitable columns of the *Pioneer* itself and they are truly delightful for their sophistry, impudence, vituperation and choice of Billingsgate. Here are some samples. The Hon’ble Mr. Kennedy intended to tell the Behar Council that “the Bill was the result of agitation, for the most part fictitious and factious,” Mr. Gandhi was “an absolute stranger to the country and the people” and “he had been

invited there not by any men in Champaran but by those who wished to use him as a weapon against Government." The Behar Government had "deliberately chosen to throw over the European community in favour of a band of men whose motives are at least suspicious," and had preferred "to act on the rule laid down by Mr. Pickwick at Eatonswill to shout with the larger crowd." The Hon'ble Mr. Jameson, who was to have followed Mr. Kennedy, intended to call Mr. Gandhi a "now largely discredited spokesman of the ryots," and to say of the Committee which made the recommendations embodied in the Bill—of which Sir Frederick Sly was the President—that it "acted in a deliberately dishonest manner." The Behar Government had "treated the agreement between the Behar Planters' Association and Sir Edward Baker's Government after the German fashion—as a mere scrap of paper." Not content with such unmitigated twaddle, good Mr. Jameson was to have lashed himself towards the end of his speech into considerable fury (assumed like that of a great actor's) and to have concluded with the following harangue:—

"What the Government has done by this Bill is deliberately to sacrifice a community which owes its weakness to its consistent loyalty to Government and to its refusal to make common cause with the open or secret opponents of British rule, for the sake of obtaining a respite for themselves from the unwelcome attentions of those political agitators who have made out of the critical situation of the British Empire an opportunity to press claims which they know would not have been entertained in normal times. Their own weakness has led them into the most glaring injustice which can not fail to recoil on their own heads, for they will find that a Government whose policy appears to be based on the prayer 'Give peace in our time, oh Lord,' will not command the respect of any section of the community. If this legislation was made on their own initiative they know by now our opinion of it, if it was forced on them against their own convictions we would have had a higher opinion of them if they had resigned their posts and kept their self-respect." We have purposely quoted these extracts to show the length to which Anglo-Indian exploiters let themselves go when their vested interests are likely to be jeopardized—even when, as in the present instance, Justice, Equity and Good Conscience are all against them. And yet these are the very people who cry wolf at the remotest possibility of any justice being done to the even moderate claims of the people whom they exploit. It is to be hoped that the lesson they have been taught by Mr. Gandhi this time will be a wholesome one and will leave the permanent impression on their minds that in a struggle between Might and Right, the latter is bound to prevail in the long run. As Professor Gilbert Murray recently pointed out in the *Hibbert Journal*, "persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man (like Mr. Gandhi) who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to do what he believes to be right." And the Champaran planters have at last found to their cost that he is—in the words of Professor Murray—"a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body which you can always conquer gives you so little purchase on his soul." Yes, the materialist planters have now had their first lesson in the doctrine of Soul-Force. May they and their compatriots profit by it in their future dealings with the fellow-countrymen of Mr. Gandhi,

The Tears of Roshinara: A Poem.

By Miss FLORA AMY MORGAN.

Since I no more may see your wistful face,
And drink your every magic gleam of eyes,
My hungry heart doth burn with thirsty blaze
Of passion still unquenched and dead'ning sighs.

But oft in darkest hours of blackest gloom
When liquid sighs from heavy heart out flow,
The Past returns with all its glorious bloom
Of sugared smiles and tears with love aglow.

Then doth a torpor come: a lovely dawn!
A lull comes when the tempest-winds are gone.

TOPICAL POEMS.

I

The Origin of the World-War in a Nutshell.

1. The Emperor of Austria was decrepit and old,
To him did the Kaiser his plot unfold,
'Send thou this ultimatum to Serbia soon,
And demand acceptance ere to-morrow noon.'
2. The old dotard was not very willing to comply,
But he dare not return a negative reply,
So he made a wry face and swallowed the pill,
And his country has now to pay up the bill.
3. The Serbians were tiny but a nation brave,
They collected their wits for a crisis so grave,
'We shall fight,' said they, 'to the very last mau,'
Even if we are left not a pot or a pan.
4. It was thus that began the great world-war,
The facts are known to every Tommy Tar,
Germany may pretend to be innocent as a babe,
But who will be taken in by such clumsy 'Fareb ?'
5. O Kaiser ! thou art no doubt crafty and proud,
Yet thou shalt find to have woven thy shroud,
Be thou universally cursed for ages long,
And thine infamy be the theme of every song.

II

To India.

1. O India ! the gem in British Crown,
Of hoary history and old renown ;
Thy sons have fought in many a clime,
Gained honour and glory every time.
2. When riot and rapine ravished thy land,
Britain helped thee on thy legs to stand ;
She is now fighting with her back to the wall,
Hasten to rescue and offer thine all.
3. Ravished Belgium for help appealed,
'Hasten,' said she, 'Or my doom is sealed ;'
How nobly did Britain answer that call,
She never shrunk to risk her all.

4. Britain stood for her word alone,
Belgium was neither her flesh nor bone ;
In thy case, British Raj means *all*,
Its absence means 'no progress at all.'
5. To thee it is not mere duty's call,
How if the Huns on thee should fall ?
Thus, interest and duty both demand,
That thou in a line with Britain stand.
6. When the great World-War is ended,
And success has our arms attended ;
In that hour of mercy and grace,
Thou too shalt bear a smiling face.
7. Why wrangle when the thief is at thy door ?
Be wise and first beat off the '*Chor*.'
Concord means strength and discord means fall,
Be warned ! how Russia lost her all.

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THE OPEN FORUM.

Criticisms, Discussions and Comments.

"The Leader" and "The Hindustan Review."

(By "S. R." in the *Advocate* of Lucknow.)

A Mutual Admiration Society is coming into existence on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges. It was only the other day that the *Leader* praised 'our well-known Mr. Sinha,' of the *Hindustan Review* who, though living at Bankipore, still publishes his valuable-magazine from Allahabad. The *Hindustan Review* has praised back the *Leader* and its talented editor with even greater verve. The *Leader* is spoken of as 'a vigilant guardian of public interests' and the Hon. Mr. Chintamani "worthily represents in the Local Legislative Council the interests of His Honor's 'first station in India.' " I quite agree with 'the grand Napoleon of the realms of journalism'—as an eminent friend once referred to Mr. Sinha in a private conversation—Yes I do agree; even though, I am sorry, I do not see eye to eye with Mr. Chintamani on many things and doubt the wisdom of certain of his grave political moves, which may one day prove to be the grave of our aspirations—if we are not on the alert. Who asked Messrs. C. Y. C. & Co. to join the Home Rule League? And having joined it why did they leave it? The H. R. L. will survive these shocks, rude and unexpected as they are.

Perhaps the affection of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar-at-Law for Allahabad is the reason why he envies Sir Harcourt Butler's love of Lucknow. Some of our Allahabad friends have always cast evil eyes on Lucknow. But how can the 'nookshotten' capital by the North-West Provinces compare with the City of Gardens. The *Hindustan Review* says: "Allahabad has for these many years badly needed an administrator who will regard it as his 'Indian Home' and who will convert this holy city into a healthy, sanitary, and clean abode for the thousands and hundreds of thousands who are constantly visiting it on pilgrimage. Till that time arrives, Sir Harcourt's 'first station in India' will remain perhaps 'last' even in necessary improvements." The *Hindustan Review* could very well have pleaded for Allahabad

without showing its jealousy—pardonable though it is—against Lucknow. It says Sir Harcourt has 'warmth' for Allahabad that is all; no more than that—but Lucknow is his 'Indian Home,' the affection for which is as evergreen as Lucknow itself.

* * *

If the editors of the *Hindustan Review* and the *Leader* get into an enlarged Executive Council of the first Governor in U. P., they will drown Lucknow in the Gumti floods and make Allahabad the 'Indian Home' of Governors and Councillors and some of our Taluqdars and people will have to hold protest meetings and ask for partition! Mr. Curtis may rejoice, for he is not a believer in ponderous provinces.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.

The March number of the *Hindustan Review*, opens with a literary thesis on "Classic Literature and National Character" by Mr. N. Gupta. Its interest is purely academic. The second article—"Indian Education Under the British" by Mr. M. Zahuruddin—is a five-page "resume" of the progress of education in India under British rule. The opening line—"the history of Indian education under the British is a dismal record"—frightened us a bit at the outset but as we went through the article we were relieved to find that there was nothing dismal about it at all but that it was a clever recapitulation of ancient history. In the third article, Mr. Thakorelal M. Desai examines Mr. Ghandi's *asram* (home) and the objects he has in view. The writer does not see eye to eye with Mr. Ghandi in all that he holds up before his pupils—asceticism, vow of celibacy, etc.,—which were so much in favour in the days of Brahman India. It goes without saying that in the next number of the *Hindustan* Mr. Ghandi will explain to Mr. Desai, why the hands of the clock have got to be set back. Mr. Moreno's reminiscences of an Armenian grandee of Moghul times lifts the veil from an interesting chapter of ancient Indian history. The other contributions are interesting in their own way.—*The Indian Daily News*.

SOME CURRENT TOPICS.

The editorial notes in the March number of the *Hindustan Review* deal with number of subjects of current interest, special attention being rightly given to one or two provincial topics. The place of honour is taken by the war crisis. The purpose of Germany is what President Wilson has well stated. Among other

things Germany wants to 'master' Persia, India and the peoples of the Far 'East.' The last can be left to be looked after by Japan, while the people of India have not taken such utter leave of their senses as to harbour the faintest thought of tolerating Prussianism in the place of the British ideals of Justice and Liberty to which they are indebted for the progress they have made during the past several generations, and under whose aegis alone they can hope to win an honourable place in the sun. While their willingness to make sacrifices for the Empire has been incontestably demonstrated it is unfortunate that their capacity and opportunities of service are very limited. But now that a crisis confronts us all it is up to the Government and the people alike to put aside their domestic differences for the time being and to co-operate whole-heartedly in making the maximum possible effort to break the foul menace of Prussianism. This effort is the necessary preliminary to the fruition of all the hopes that Britain and India cherish for the future of this country and the Empire of which it forms an integral and indispensable part.

Sir Harcourt Butler is the subject of the second paragraph. Mr. Sinha has correctly stated that his Honour has begun well and produced an altogether favourable initial impression. He has started with the advantage of knowing these provinces thoroughly well and he has in him the elements that contribute to success—a clear mind and a strong will. Further he can both learn and unlearn, unlike many other members of the distinguished service which claims him. Therefore, we have no more doubt than the talented editor of the *Hindustan Review* 'that he will be able to adjust himself to his surroundings with credit to himself and advantage to the people.' We are not concerned to speculate on Sir Harcourt's present political opinions. Whatever they be, we have a certain confidence that during his time these provinces will make substantial progress in the things that matter—education, sanitation, agricultural improvement, industrial development. What draws us to him is the strong hope that at the end of his five years the United Provinces will be better able to compare themselves with the three presidencies—they too being elevated by then to the higher status of the United Presidency of Agra and Oudh under a Governor in Council. Heaven knows our countrymen have suffered many disappointments and it is not the part of prudence to indulge in

confident anticipations. We can but hope that disappointment will not once more be our share. The *Hindustan Review* is issued from Allahabad and it is no wonder that its attention has been arrested by Sir Harcourt Butler's known partiality for another place and his reference to this city. After quoting his Honour's description of Lucknow, and his reference to Allahabad at the last meeting of the Council, our contemporary says :

'We are thankful to Sir Harcourt for the assurance though we do not know whether it has satisfied the Hon. Mr. Chintamani. Perhaps not. And if not who can blame him? For mark the circumlocution employed by his Honour in speaking of Allahabad. It is "very far from.....any feeling other than warmth," while Lucknow is his "Indian home," the "affection" for which is as "evergreen as Lucknow itself". . . The fact of the matter is that Allahabad has for these many years badly needed an administrator who will regard it as "his Indian home," and who will convert this holy city into a healthy sanitary and clean abode for the thousands and hundreds of thousands who are constantly visiting it on pilgrimage. Till that time arrives Sir Harcourt's "first station in India" will remain perhaps "last" in even necessary improvements.'

Sir Harcourt can, and we hope will, remove doubt and misgiving in the only effective way that is possible, viz., by deed.

Mr. F. D. Simpson's judicial flippancy indulged in at the expense of our Bengali friends forms the third subject of the editorial comments in the Review. After endorsing the *Leader's* view of Mr. Simpson's unhappy attempt at humour, Mr. Sinha, who knows from experience of the administration of justice in this province, makes important observations which we take leave to quote :

"Intimately in touch as we may claim to be with the administration of justice in the province of Agra, we are not unaware of the fact that there exists throughout the province a very considerable sense of dissatisfaction—bordering almost on discontent—with criminal justice as it is administered by the district courts, even—as in the present case—under the very nose of the High Court, and it is taken for granted that it is due to the indifference of the latter tribunal. It is not our business to defend the learned judges of the local High Court, but if there be any foundation for the popular view we are confident

it is mainly due to the fact that the 'leaders' in the Allahabad court have long since regarded it as *infra dig* to take up criminal case. Revelling in 'civil' briefs, they have let criminal practice fall into derision, with the inevitable result which the public wrongly attribute to his Majesty's judges. It seems to be forgotten by the average critic that judges are after all men and it is the fear of being pulled up by a strong and independent bar that makes them vigilant and alert in the discharge of their duties. If there has been, on the whole, profound satisfaction with the administration of criminal justice in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam, it is because the stalwarts of the Calcutta bar have exercised through their advocacy a potent influence on the minds of the judges. William Jackson and Manomohan Ghose—to mention but two—have had no little share in bringing about the desired result. Now, the Allahabad bar has been singularly barren of great and virile personalities in criminal practice and it is, in our opinion, mainly to this, and not to anything in our judges, that can be traced the want of close supervision over the working of our mofussil courts. Things will improve with a better appreciation by the 'leaders' of the bar of the value of criminal practice as a source of public good.'

Will our Indian leaders of the bar kindly make a note of this censure of them by one who was their colleague not many years ago and who is still in close touch with them? We ourselves have noticed more than once that accused persons who are not anxious to be defended by European counsel at all costs, experience a great difficulty. Mr. Satya Chandra Mukerji is about the only Indian lawyer practising in the High Court who can boast of a fairly extensive criminal practice; there is Mr. Hari Mohan Roy in the sessions court. But why should men involved in criminal litigation always have to go to Messrs. Wallach, Alston, Boys and Dillon and can never hope to engage Pandit Motilal Nehru or Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru or Rai Gokul Prasad Bahadur? Mr. Durga Charan Banerji has for some time been devoting himself almost exclusively to civil work, as we understand Mr. A. P. Sen has been doing at Lucknow. The latter place has in Pandit Jagat Narain a singularly capable advocate who works on the criminal side; invaluable to his own side and formidable as an opponent. Who is the Jagat Narain of Allahabad and where is he? If Mr. Sinha's observations will lead some of our Indian leaders of the bar to consider the position they will have done good.—The Leader.

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DEAR SIR,

At a public meeting held on the 1st March, 1918, at the Mayo Hall, Allahabad, under the presidency of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, a large and representative committee consisting of Europeans and Indians, officials and non-officials, with power to add to its numbers, was appointed to raise a suitable memorial to the late lamented Sir Sundar Lal. At the first meeting of this committee held on the 16th March, 1918, it was resolved that the memorial should be such as to serve some educational purpose, its exact shape and form to be determined hereafter, having regard to the funds that might be collected and to the wishes of the subscribers.

Sir Sundar Lal filled such a large and conspicuous place in the public life of the country that it is hardly necessary to refer at any length to his many and varied public services. As a lawyer of great eminence, as thrice Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University and as the first Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, as a member for thirteen years of the United Provinces Legislative Council and for some time of the Imperial Legislative Council, and above all as a devoted and indefatigable worker in the cause of education generally, Sir Sundar Lal's place is secure in the affections of his grateful countrymen. The memorial that is proposed to be raised, should be worthy of the great and good man whose loss we are all mourning to-day, and in this task we earnestly seek your sympathy and co-operation.

It behoves us therefore according to our respective means and opportunities to do at once all that we can to perpetuate the memory of a distinguished man who at considerable personal sacrifice did his utmost to serve his country. The memorial will be a source of inspiration to generations yet unborn and serve to remind them of the life that Sir Sundar Lal lived and of the work that he was able to accomplish. We are therefore perfectly sure that you will not only co-operate with us in making this proposed memorial a complete success by taking personal interest in it but will, by circulating this letter, enlist the sympathy and co-operation of all those who cherish in love and affection the memory of Sir Sundar Lal.

Yours truly,

PRAMODA CHARAN BANERJI.

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